Modernism

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MODERNISM

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MODERNISM

THE JOWETT LECTURES, 1908

BY

PAUL SABATIER

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI"

TRANSLATED BY C. A. MILES

WITH A PREFACE, NOTES AND APPENDICES

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NOTE

THE translation of the Syllabus *Lamentabili* is reprinted from *The Tablet*, by kind permission of the Editor. The translation of the Encyclical *Pascendi* is the official version originally published in *The Tablet*, and subsequently issued, with modifications, by Messrs Burns & Oates.

INTRODUCTION

In the following pages are reproduced three lectures delivered in London, at the invitation of the "Jowett Lectures" Committee, during February and March 1908.

A month later M. Loisy's fourth little orange-coloured book appeared — *Quelques Lettres sur des Questions Actuelles et sur des Evénements Récents.**

The thoughts and questionings revealed in it were so like those which had called forth my lectures, the answers given to those questionings were so similar to my own, although far better and far more authoritative, that at first I made up my mind to publish nothing. On further consideration, however, it occurred to me that what I had thought to be modesty might after all be something quite different.

* Published by the author at Ceffonds, near Montier en Der (Haute Marne). 295 pp. M. Loisy's three other little orange books are:

1. *L'Evangile et l'Eglise.* (4th Edition) 1908. 280+xxxiv pp.
2. *Autour d'un Petit Livre.* 300+xxxvi pp.
3. *Simples Réflexions sur le Décret du Saint Office* Lamentabili sane Exitu *et sur l'Encyclique* Pascendi Dominici Gregis. 277 pp

Because on my poor patch of moorland I can never produce crops to compete with my neighbour's, ought I to remain with arms folded? The other day I arranged some broom around a plantation of young cedars, to shelter them from the wind; afterwards, when the broom gave out, I made use of common brushwood. In a few months' time this broom and brushwood will be but dry sticks, unnoticed and yet still useful. Well, I myself should like to do for Loisy somewhat the same service as these humble plants are doing for the cedars of La Maisonnette.

The famous exegete's last book seems to me the simplest and most effective answer that can be given to the questions about Modernism which are being asked on all sides. The movement has produced works of the first rank in almost every field: on Biblical criticism, for instance, on church history and the lives of the saints, on dogmatics and religious philosophy, and on social questions; but all these have dealt with special and limited subjects, and Modernism has been known to the world chiefly by *books*.

That was not enough; people wanted to know the *authors*, to come into personal, living touch with them, to be with them not only when they were teaching, lecturing, speaking, but also during their long hours of thought and meditation and preparation, their hours of work and prayer, their hours of joy and their hours of suffering. It is just this personal touch that, with rare precision and absolute sincerity, Loisy gives us in his last book.

Which of us, in reading the history of great intellectual and moral crises, has not longed to have been the contemporary and associate of the men who initiated and produced them? Well, *Quelques Lettres* admits us to the intimate society of one of the apostles of Modernism and helps us to understand the influence which this humble priest—"*ce petit prêtre de rien de tout*"—living in an out-of-the-way village in Champagne, is exercising over the whole Christian world, an influence which he himself is the last to realise. When, after some generations, the time comes to write the history of the moral and religious renewal which will characterise the early twentieth century, it is in this book that its origin and programme will have to be studied.

From it too, it may be, our descendants will learn what a marvellous instrument the language of their ancestors was. Flexibility, lucidity, conciseness and good taste, these are qualities to which our best authors have accustomed us, but there are others which we find in M. Loisy in an eminent and even unique degree—propriety or rather sincerity of expression, discreetness of style, and a certain urbanity which passes from the writer's personality into his work.

M. Loisy thus continues one of the finest traditions of our language and our national character. It is much to be wished that in this respect also he should have many followers. Among our writers of the day there are some who with wild enthusiasm proclaim themselves nationalists, for whom everything in the past of France is perfection. Would not these men do well to begin by displaying in their own work the tact, the moderation, the reserve, the whole group of qualities which show an author's respect for his readers, and which form one of the most original characteristics of the great periods in our literature?

From this point of view we in France are still far from giving Loisy his rightful place. The critics who day by day distribute their laurels seem

to fight shy of him. They are often heard to groan over the blindness of foreign nations in confusing our contemporary literature with the books with which our railway and street bookstalls are stocked. We cannot be too grateful to them for thus warning the public of its mistake. Would it not, however, be better still if they were to give to works like Loisy's, which mark an epoch in the history of the French mind, the place that belongs to them?

Loisy's work * is of importance not only because

* The persecutions of which M. Loisy has been the victim have had one result among others—they have given him the time he needed for the writing of his books. It is plain that, if he had remained professor at the Catholic Institute in Paris, the preparation of his lectures and his duties as a member of the professorial body would have absorbed the greater part of his time; we should then certainly not have had from him the series of little orange books which have brought him into sympathetic touch with the general public.

I cannot here attempt to give even a brief bibliography of the Reviews to which he has contributed. The following is merely a chronological list of his chief volumes. (The little orange-coloured books have been mentioned in an earlier note).

Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament (1890).

Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament (1891).

Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de l'Ancien Testament (1892-1893). 2 vols.

Le Livre de Job (1892).

Les Mythes Babylonions et les Premiers Chapitres de la Genèse (1901)

La Religion d'Israel (1901). *Etudes Evangéliques* (1902).

Etudes Bibliques (1903). *Le Quatrième Evangile* (1903).

Les Evangiles Synoptiques (1907 and 1908). 2 vols.

The intensity of M. Loisy's scientific output will be noted. It has

it is so fine in itself but also because of its profound influence on the intellectual evolution of our generation. A genuine product of the French genius, it contains seeds of thought which have found among us a soil ready for them and have germinated there.

Why then this silence, or rather this reticence? Why do our greatest critics so obstinately refuse to see what a cheering symptom the success of Modernism is? Are they not aware that in Paris, in the very Quartier Latin, Loisy's books are selling faster than the novels of the day? Is not that a sign of the times to be noted with some satisfaction?

Nor is the great scholar's influence over studious young men bounded by the frontiers of France. M. Pierre de Quirielle has told us, in one of his most

been rendered possible by the inflexible regularity with which he works, and by the retired life he has led in his hermitage at Garnay, and of late at Ceffonds.

It is a strange thing that certain ecclesiastics are, quite rightly, full of admiration for St Bonaventura, who was once taken by surprise while washing dishes in the kitchen of his convent, and yet find something laughable in the sight of M. Loisy attending to his poultry with more intelligence and success than his neighbours the farmers. Two scenes so closely alike should surely be equally edifying.

brilliant articles,* with what ardent sympathy the Rector of an Italian seminary questioned him about this heretic. He would find the same interest in Germany—even among men whose opinions M. Loisy combats—and in England on the part of prelates who follow his work at once with anxiety and with admiration. Last February I saw on an

* In the *Journal des Débats* for February 24, 1908.

As I have mentioned the name of this journal, I cannot help saying with how much interest those who concern themselves with religious affairs are following both M. de Quirielle's articles and the Roman letters which bear the signature of "M. P." These studies are written with a knowledge and a conscientiousness which are very rarely given to the treatment of questions so delicate. I am all the more glad to be able to speak so highly of them, as it is impossible not to note a strangely weak-kneed attitude on the part of many European papers in regard to Roman affairs.

There is at the Vatican a certain Mgr. Benigni, who has rapidly and unexpectedly attained a unique position through the skill with which he has organised the Holy See's relations with the Press. I will not, as some do, accuse him of having bought, for cash down, the correspondents of certain London and Paris papers, for I am enough of a Roman to know that though on the banks of the Tiber pretty nearly everything is sold, good care is taken never to buy anything. But here is a less gross and withal more effective means of ensuring the docility of journalists, and that is to withhold *communiqués*.

Mgr. Benigni is not so simple as those governments which daily supply the whole Press with one and the same bulletin. He takes the trouble to give what he writes a different shade, according as it is destined for Madrid, New York or—Geneva.

This coercion of a certain number of organs of public opinion by the agents of the Holy See is quite one of the darkest sides of Pius X.'s pontificate. The astonishing part played by *La Corrispondenza*

Anglican bishop's table Loisy's Commentary on the Synoptics and his Study of the Fourth Gospel. "It is years," said the bishop to me, "since any scientific work has interested me so profoundly. I have read the preface to the Synoptics twice, and I get on very slowly, for I am full of admiration, and also of perplexity. I am an old man, and many questions are here presented in so novel a way that I am quite baffled by it all. But my heart divines what my intellect cannot grasp—Loisy has a noble mind, and above all he is a true son of the Church. He does not think himself omniscient or infallible. Where he is wrong he must be shown his mistakes. Our Roman brethren are preparing to excommunicate him, but excommunication is no argument. Loisy has evidently arrived at his views honestly and invol-

Romana, which faithfully reflects the reading and the views, ideas, hopes, anger, hatred, alarm, arrogance and stupidity of a power which claims to speak in the name of God Himself, is not the least irony of Pius X.'s reign. Public opinion is for the moment engaged elsewhere, and many of those who throw stones at the Vatican may well seem to it to have few qualifications for posing as apostles of an ideal morality. But it may well be that when the day comes for Mgr. Benigni and Mgr. Montagnini to receive the cardinal's hat, there will be an irresistible movement against a *camarilla* whose reign will be regarded not only as a scandal but as one of the most incredible facts in the ecclesiastical history of the last few centuries.

untarily, while in fact actually desiring to reach opposite views. To cut him off from the communion of the faithful is a confession of weakness, not to say unbelief. Believe me, in saying this I am not thinking only of Pius X., but also of the Eastern Church, and especially of the Church of England, which has its own crisis, its own troubles and difficulties. Here too we are threatened with a mechanical or materialistic view of the Church, which leads people to believe that to persecute error and to love truth are the same thing." At this point our conversation, which I have given as faithfully as I can remember it, was interrupted. I thought it worth relating because it seemed to me a typical example of the penetrative power of Loisy's thought.*

The mysterious influence he gains over those who are willing to take a few steps in his company will be best understood by the readers of *Quelques Lettres*.

* At the Pan-Anglican Congress one of the most prominent of the English prelates, Dr Talbot, Bishop of Southwark, spoke some memorable words, which are summarised as follows by *The Guardian* (June 24, 1908, p. 1078): "The Bishop of Southwark admitted that modern criticism had greatly helped him in dealing with difficulties found in the Old Testament, and helped him also the better to love and preach the Old Testament."

In his other books we see the exegete, the *savant*, the thinker; in this one we see the man. It has all the interest of a volume of memoirs, the realism of a book of confessions, and the historical value of a collection of documents.

In the choice of the letters to appear in this selection the author was guided by one anxiety—to avoid everything that could serve as a pretext for measures of persecution, or arouse mere idle curiosity.

His desire was to tell not only the truth but the whole truth, and he has included pages which would certainly not have appeared if he had sought to draw a flattering portrait of himself or to provide materials for his legend. In saying this I have my mind particularly on the letters addressed to M. Auguste Roussel, to the unspeakable Dom Chamard, and to Canon Henri Debout, *lauréat* of the Academie Française and *Curé* of the Sacré Cœur at Calais.

In some of the letters we seem to hear the thunder of a just indignation; others show a rather haughty compassion; they all enthral us and carry us away. We applaud, but the next moment we are seized with pity for the victims. We feel they have not entered the arena quite of their own accord; they remind us

of those wretched Spanish mules which the bull in his fury rips up without their knowing why.

Undoubtedly the proceedings of the clerical Press, which with superb insolence poses as the appointed guardian of orthodoxy, are even more vulgar and offensive than those which disgrace a section of the political Press. The fact that a priest, the Abbé Garnier, editor of the *Peuple Français*, could write an article* accusing M. Loisy of having sold himself to a Jew and a Protestant—he was careful not to name them, for fear of legal proceedings being taken, but they were clearly pointed out by their initials—is a painful symptom of the state of moral degradation reached by papers before which our bishops tremble and which the Pope loads with benedictions. When we remember that these accusations appeared, over the signature of the editor-in-chief, at the head of the front page, and called forth no protest from the subscribers to the paper, nor, what is more, from the other editors, who most of them know both M. Loisy and the Protestant and the Jew in question, we cannot form a high opinion of the public which reads this sort of literature, or of those

* In the number for September 19, 1907.

who cater for it, in spite of their pretensions to being the saviours of divine morality in the country.

Loisy, however, knows his strength; he is now victorious enough not to waste his time in correcting the mistakes—intentional or merely stupid—of the *bonne presse.*

M. Auguste Roussel with his *Univers* and his *Vérité Française,* Canon Debout with his laurels and diplomas, Dom Chamard with his bravadoes, will have been forgotten long ago when *Quelques Lettres* is still read; and our descendants, seeing these champions of orthodoxy only through the medium of Loisy's letters, will be in danger of forming an exaggerated and even an unjust idea of them.

The Modernists have introduced into philosophy and dogmatics the idea of relativity; in my opinion they ought also to apply this conception in their estimates of men. To refrain from judging and consequently condemning our opponents perfect saintliness is not necessary; it is enough to use a little observation and good sense. A tree can only bring forth its own fruit.

A man who disregards the most elementary rules of good faith, who supports grave charges by quota-

tions which he either misinterprets or altogether invents, who, when his error is pointed out to him, not only does not desist but tries to silence all contradiction, and will see and hear nothing; such a man, though to us he seems on so low an intellectual and moral level, may be at other times, and when other questions are concerned, a model of delicacy and kindness and devotion.

John Huss was able to divine the saintliness of the poor woman who threw a faggot into his fire of martyrdom. In our time there are still many people whose mentality is like that of this simple person. Let us study them with the sympathetic interest of a scientist examining the last representatives of a species that is becoming extinct. These organisms of a past epoch, which are to-day being slowly but inexorably eliminated by Nature, exhibit peculiarities that will richly repay our observation.

Men like Pius X., Mgr. Turinaz or Père Fontaine, are neither to be pitied nor blamed; they are what they are, and even what they ought to be. Their inborn incapacity to understand what we say is a fact; we must note it as a fact, and not only not be angry at it, but profit by it and learn from it; for,

vast, ingenuous and exuberant as it is, it may help us to realise how slowly the human mind evolves and how necessary it is to allow it plenty of time.

We do not get angry with a peasant because he can see nothing in a painting by Rembrandt, and finds it ugly, grotesque or coarse. Should we accuse him of bad faith if he were incapable of correctly describing the attitude or expression of the persons represented? After a little reflection we may well feel that our own view of the picture is but little better than his, and that to our descendants it will one day seem quite as defective.

There is need of patience, above all, in dealing with images which for some men embody ideas that are the best part of their moral and religious life. In this respect Loisy may be instanced as a model. He has in him nothing of the iconoclast: for twenty years he had left certain papers to misunderstand his ideas, distort his clearest words, and quite overlook the very real sacrifices that he has often made in deference to discipline.

I can see that it was impossible for him to keep silence, but I regret nevertheless that he should have

entered into discussions with those who cannot understand him.

All this shuffling, these tricks and artifices, these mutilated, falsified, and even fabricated quotations, seem from our point of view to form a method of unintelligent lying; they are really something quite different on the part of our opponents—they are the involuntary result of fear, the irresponsible strategy of people who have lost their heads.

I hope these reservations will be forgiven me; they are the only ones I have to make with regard to Loisy's work. One reads and re-reads it with increasing deliberation and ever-fresh delight. The impatience which the illustrious scholar shows towards certain unimportant opponents only strikes one because it interrupts the serenity—or rather the security—of the faith manifested in the book. God is patient because He is eternal. The Modernist, too, ought to be patient, because he feels himself a moment in this eternity, and, as it were, a member of it—no passive and inert element, but a moment and a member which, by its willing service, is in a sense the realisation of that eternity. Human language

can express these realities but feebly, but perhaps it is better to express them badly than not at all.

The fundamental impression one gets from reading *Quelques Lettres* is that the author has reached a higher stage of religious development, not because he has discovered a few new truths in the realm of science or exegesis, but because in him the soul of Catholicism has grown broader and stronger, has embraced a wider horizon and become more truly Catholic.

I know that this will greatly astonish those—if they ever read my books—who picture Loisy as a sort of Satan who has taken the destruction of the Bible as his mission.

Criticism has never destroyed anything; it is true that in unskilful hands it has occasionally seemed like a sort of inverted dogmatics, but it is precisely under Loisy's treatment that it is found to be constructive and edifying, that it gives us the history of religious endeavour throughout the ages, and shows us the way in which rude and clumsy attempts have been the necessary prelude to and preparation for the noblest advances of the human conscience. There is a certain rationalist idealism which gladly

accepts the chief conquests of humanity, but is unwilling to see how long a path was traversed before they could be attained. Criticism, on the contrary, shows us that we cannot understand the one without the other, that to know the fruit we must study the tree.

This sense of catholicity, of union with the whole past and of responsibility towards the future, is given us in an extraordinary degree by Loisy's last work. One is forced to think that those who accuse him of having adopted Protestant views must have been struck with blindness.

Read, for instance, the letter to a student of theology at Geneva, and you will see what missionary effort will become when those engaged in it have attained to a full consciousness of the laws of life, and have realised that it is their duty to respect those laws and to assist Nature in spiritual matters, just as the doctor assists her in another field. In this letter the author speaks with a simplicity and moderation which are in no way studied or calculated. He knows that if his correspondent has reached a certain degree of religious development he will understand; and that, if he has not reached it, it would

be unwise, premature, and even culpable, to disturb him and to seek to hasten his evolution from outside.

Sometimes a brooding hen thinks she hears, before the time, her chicks knocking at the door of their prison. All in a fever, she tries to answer them discreetly; she fears lest she should be mistaken, and feels that it is not for her to hasten the solemn moment. Just like this is Loisy's delicate consideration for others; in no sense is it a tactical manœuvre. It comes from his faith; he knows that the essential thing is not to have reached some particular point, but to be at work, to be on the move.

By a purely scientific route he has arrived where many will be surprised to find him—at an intensely mystical conception of the Church. How poor, how external, how formal appears that unity of the Church which the Holy See is maintaining by dint of disciplinary measures when compared with the real, free unity in which the thought of this alleged heretic moves!

Pius X. believes that unity is saved when he receives the expression of the unanimous submission of the episcopate. That may be unity, but it is the

unity of enforced homage, if not the unity of men who are one only in their discouragement, faint-heartedness and fear. It is not merely a lying unity, it is a blasphemy against the true unity. Do but compare the grandiloquent and obsequious letters of these regiments of bishops with the pages where Loisy tells of his experience, his actual sense of communion with an eternal body to which at first he belonged involuntarily, but of which he becomes each day a more willing and resolute member. You will soon see to which side posterity will turn for a witness to the faith of the early twentieth century.

The strength of his position and the Modernists' is that their scientific honesty, far from leading them to a bare negation of religion, brings them, on the contrary, to firm scientific ground on which religious thought can develop with a vigour, serenity, independence and boldness such as the world has never seen.

Many people think that these new teachers, like prudent folk, are making concessions on scientific ground; that they are opportunists who are bowing to circumstances. Those who think this are as grossly

mistaken as those who regard them as Protestants in disguise. This equivocal attitude—when a person affirms as a member of a Church what he denies as a *savant*, or merely as a man—is no doubt very common; it dates from long before our time; and it makes it fatally easy to accuse believers of duplicity and hypocrisy. But this is in no degree the attitude of the Modernists. On the contrary, their great characteristic is a complete inner harmony. For them science illuminates faith, and if it makes faith less mysterious to them, on the other hand it shows them how strong and firmly-rooted faith is.

Let us take a definite instance. The problem of the Fourth Gospel is one of the most debated questions of the present day. A certain school of orthodoxy, whose deliberations are conducted with closed doors, declares that its author is St John the Apostle, and that its narratives are to be taken in a strictly historical sense. On the other hand there is a certain school of rationalism which, after showing that the document has merely a symbolical meaning, comes to the conclusion that it is valueless. Will the Modernist take a middle course and accept theoretically the rationalist view, while continuing

to use the document in the orthodox way? No, he escapes from the dilemma by a conception more scientific than that of the rationalist: "*The Gospel and Christian tradition are not merely old memories which we are free to consult or let go at will; they are religious experiences which are somehow continued in our own experience, and I will venture to say that we could never succeed in entirely rooting them out of ourselves, even if we could banish them from our recollection.*" *

Never has a writer noted more happily the error of those who, under pretext of exalting the sacred books, make them documents of superhuman origin, and, on the other hand, the error of those who, having proved that there is nothing absolute about them, refuse to see their immense value as formative elements of our thought and our moral life.

Anti-religious rationalism and orthodox intellectualism—they are more opposed in appearance than reality—both start from the same idea of the absolute. Modernism moves on a very different plane—the plane of reality, of life, of experience; the Modernist has no more need to believe his

* *Quelques Lettres*, p. 42.

Church to be metaphysically infallible in order to be faithful to her than he has to believe his parents to be impeccable or omniscient in order to love and obey them. It is indeed true that mankind's great witnesses to the religious life seem to him much closer to us common men, but if they appear less majestic they become more real, and a truer view is gained of them.

The Modernist has a sense of the life of the Church in our day, and he enters vigorously into it. He does not in the least share the Protestant idea—an idea which from Protestantism has everywhere filtered through into Catholicism—that revelation ceased with the composition of the sacred books, that the great epochs of religious thought are closed, and that all we have now to do is to live on the interest of our spiritual heritage.

On the contrary, the idea—so eminently Catholic, and also scientific—of the continuity of life, of our solidarity with both the past and the future, inspires M. Loisy to such a degree as to transcend the limits of science and pass into the realm of mysticism and poetry. The work of this typical Frenchman, born in the region which was the cradle of Gothic

architecture, makes one think of those great thirteenth century cathedrals which are the noblest expression of Christian art, because in them all is coherent, harmonious, at one.

There are certain pages of Loisy's which should be read in some old cathedral at the hour when the evening shadows fall, when the details vanish and blend together in the majesty of the whole, and one can guess at, rather than see, the faithful who linger to meditate or pray; when the building itself seems wrapped in contemplation, vibrating in mysterious union with all Nature in her homage to the setting sun. A great peace, a sense of calm and forgiveness, seems to descend from the vaults and pervade all things; the memory of the past comes with more freedom and intensity than at common times, it enfolds and takes possession of one. It is the hour of Compline. Up there in the choir voices ascend —voices of boys, voices of old men; in and with them we seem to be living again through all the sorrows, the hopes, the faith of the past, and this past is lending us its voice that we may go further, rise higher than it has done. After the little child that still lives in each of us has been lulled and calmed by

the chant of the *In Manus*, the *Salve Regina* comes at last with its passionate strains, now bursting into joy, now turning to a wail, to lead us to the threshold of those *templa serena* whither the *savant*, the artist, the poet and the mystic come by different ways, to meet in communion as beneficent as it is unexpected.

Yes, it is indeed in one of these cathedrals, the expression of the faith, not the orthodoxy, of a whole people, that the pages should be read in which Loisy replies to a professor who is also a priest. "The question," he writes, "which lies at the bottom of the religious problem to-day is not whether the Pope is infallible, or whether there are errors in the Bible, or even whether Christ is God, or whether a revelation exists—all these problems are either obsolete or have changed their meaning, and they all depend upon the one great problem—but whether the universe is inert matter, empty, deaf, soulless, pitiless; whether man's conscience finds in it no echo truer and more real than itself. There is no rational proof one way or the other which can be said to be irresistible. . . . The act by which we affirm our trust in the moral worth of the universe, in the moral purpose of being, is in itself necessarily an act

of faith. It is none the less a supremely reasonable act, not only because it is supported by probabilities which militate against the negative thesis of materialistic atheism, but because the very act by which we affirm God's reality (there is no question for the moment of defining Him) affirms our own reality, brings us into equilibrium, completes us, adapts us to life, is an experience of the truth contained in itself. . . . That is what I say to myself, and it does not lie within my power to say more to you or to speak in clearer or more persuasive terms. Like you I stand before this great eternal wall. I put questions to it, and in my own answers to myself I believe that, unconscious though it seems, it speaks to me or in me. For, after all, I am a stone in this wall, *cœlestis urbs Jerusalem ;* in a certain sense it is all within me, as I am all within it; it must be alive like myself, it is no stone wall but a living building; in me it suffers, in and with it I shall have peace."

In me the Church suffers, in and with her I shall have peace! Have the ties which bind the new generation of Catholics to the rest of the Church ever been described with more simplicity, more emotion, more of the truth which comes from vital experience? Rome,

like Jerusalem of old, kills the prophets and stones them that are sent unto her, yet, with all her errors, her weaknesses, her crimes, it is she who has given us a vision of peace and unity which is more than a promise—a sort of foretaste of possession.

We must not confound the Church with Rome, nor Rome with the Curia; and yet even Rome, however feeble her head may be, however some of her organs of transmission may be unfit for their task, claims our respect because of the anxieties by which she is tormented. She is suffering in Loisy, in Tyrrell, in all those young Modernists who, though they have no right to spare her this pain, are nevertheless in duty bound to feel what is passing and to understand their old Mother.

"In me she suffers; in and with her I shall have peace!" These words will remain the truest expression of what the representatives of the new school feel towards the Church. Adapting St Paul's triumphant words, they may say that they are more than conquerors and are persuaded that nothing can separate them from her.

It is this experience of increased religious life which

is the essential characteristic of the Modernist movement. Modernism is breaking up the religious soil in a way which, though not generally noticed, is even more important than its work in the scientific field. Loisy knows but a very small number of his disciples, and he has no idea of their quality. If the walls of the seminaries could speak they would tell of many young men whom he has saved from intellectual scepticism and from materialism in worship; of many who were on the way to become priests by accident and mechanically, and who, coming into touch with him through his books, have learnt to find a new meaning in the word "truth," and know now that truth must be sought for, must be purchased like the wise virgins' oil.

It is not only the most intelligent seminarists who become Modernists; it is also the most sincere, active and manly of them, for those who are consumed with ambition enter the dark paths of hypocrisy and delation.

But the call of the Modernists has stirred and awakened many consciences quite outside ecclesiastical circles and institutions. It is impossible to describe the force that radiates from the young lay-

men who have attained a clear vision of a renewed Catholicism. Sometimes, without knowing it, they purify the faith and life of those with whom they come into contact.

Last year one of them, threatened with the greater excommunication, felt that he must seek in the sacraments the strength he needed to bear the impending blow. One June morning he knocked at the door of a convent—as famous as it is modest—in Central Italy, and asked for a confessor. For a moment the lay brother who kept the door was overcome by astonishment. Each year, it is true, he was accustomed to see thousands of peasants pass into the little sanctuary, but as far as his memory went back he had never known *un signore* come to confession. He hesitated an instant, examined the stranger with a fixed gaze that was at once offensive and familiar, then, thinking he had found the answer to the question he had mentally put to himself, he drew his hands from the bucket in which he was washing lettuce and wiped them vigorously. "Yes, yes," he said, "I understand. I will call the Warden."

The Superior's astonishment was not less than the

lay brother's had been. Wondering what this visit might betoken, he took his seat in the confessional. The colloquy was short; already the priest was lifting his hand to bless and absolve the penitent, when the latter stopped him. "My confession would be incomplete," he said, "if I did not tell you my name. It is ——, and if you have read certain newspapers you will know that I am threatened with excommunication." The monk nearly leapt from his seat; he cast on his penitent a look of compassion and admiration. "I thank you for your frankness," he said. "To-morrow you may be excommunicate, but I have no right to treat you as such to-day. I will pray for you; do you too pray for me—many, many prayers!"

The next moment, his face radiant with joy, he began with his own hands to prepare the altar; then he celebrated Mass. Who can say what passed between the two men at the moment of Communion, when tears filled the priest's eyes and his countenance became transfigured with emotion? They themselves no doubt could not tell us, but it is certain that the good Father owes to a young layman, under suspicion and all but cast out of the

Church, the most luminous day in all his priestly life.

There is something exceptional and unique about this example; but I thought it right to give it, because it shows how intense is the religious life of the apostles of Modernism, and shows also the mysterious but very natural ways in which it penetrates from place to place. I do not know whether that Father Superior is now a Modernist, but I am sure that in his convent the novices read whatever they wish, and especially the Reviews which are most solemnly prohibited.

It is this note of piety combined with freedom, of love for the Church at the moment when in certain respects the author is at war with her hierarchy, which makes *Quelques Lettres* so strikingly original a book. In it we not only see the man, the *savant*, the Catholic, we meet at every turn the *curé*, the priest who has charge of souls, a great part of whose day is spent in visiting his parishioners.

My use of the term *curé* will perhaps surprise the reader. Still more, perhaps, will it surprise M. Loisy himself; he little knows what a vocation he has

for the active ministry. Yet I cannot give up a word which corresponds to such a living reality. In the letters we see, above all, the author's relations with his parish. It is not, indeed, much like an official parish; the *curé* does not wear the stole, the distinctive mark of his office, but in his heart there is the sign of election *par excellence*—he feels that he owes himself to his flock. His zeal has no relation to the parishioner's rank; he hastens to the side of those who have most need of him—the lonely, the erring, the weak.

He lingers in the homes of the poor, the publicans, the heretics; and some of his letters, perhaps the most important of them, are addressed to ordinary priests, to seminarists, to a Protestant student, even to men of but poor repute, with whom Loisy has no personal sympathy. It is enough for him that they have expressed a desire to hear from him; he feels himself bound to answer them, obliged to give them his attention.

Some of his opponents have scornfully observed that he has not succeeded in founding a school. He has done something greater and better, he has founded a family which has spread its roots all over

the world. Loisy's sons do not imagine that they will do honour to their spiritual father by mechanically repeating the conclusions he has reached; they have found in his teaching a starting-point, a method —he has shown them their bearings.

Those who regard him as a *savant* anxious to secure the acceptance of certain theses as final results, merely show that they cannot understand the simplest and plainest words, and he is fully justified in calling the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* a "solemn slander." * That is all it is, not only because Loisy, and Tyrrell, and the *Rinnovamento*, and Dr Schell, have never posed as Doctors of the Church, but also because its author has described the men whom he wished to discredit in words so vulgar as to be more like the language one hears in a sacristy frequented by bad company than like the pronouncements of an authority that desires to be respected even by those whom it is forced to condemn.

Evidently Pius X. is better acquainted with Mgr. Montagnini, Cardinal Merry del Val and Mgr. Benigni than with the men he has condemned. He conceives the Modernists in terms of the anti-

* *Quelques Lettres*, p. 232.

Modernists. He imagines that people join the Modernists much as they join a definite political party or enter the Academy of Ecclesiastical Nobles. You need not join, and if you have joined you can leave, you have but to pass out through the door. In his simplicity he cannot understand how anyone can refuse to oblige him.

This is not the state of mind of Pius X. alone. One is astonished to note that it is also that of a large section of the hierarchy and the clergy, and that these gentlemen seem not to have the least idea that in certain matters submission is impossible, or possible only by lying and perjury.*

Their calm persistence in demanding such submission is distressing at first, and at length becomes tragic. However carefully, for instance, the Pontifical Commission on Biblical Studies may have been purged of all the scientific intellect it contained, it is hard to understand how the members who remain in it can believe that a man is able to affirm or deny at will that a given book of the Bible is the work of the author to whom tradition assigns it.

* This is one of the ideas to which Loisy in his correspondence is most often obliged to return.

The Church, whose duty was to give to our civilisation a spirit of truth, of scientific exactitude and humility, and of manly sincerity, has fallen into the hands of a government which does all it can to stifle this spirit and ends by counselling us to commit acts which would dishonour us in our own eyes. In time to come, when the events of to-day are seen in their true proportions, ecclesiastical authority will be found to have brought about its own ruin by its obstinacy in regarding pure lies as the most meritorious of religious actions.

Those who have so low an opinion of Loisy as to think that he could teach to-morrow from his professorial chair the opposite of what he has taught hitherto, are not insulting the famous scholar; they are only throwing a painful light on their own mentality.

It is singularly pleasant and refreshing to turn from the pages of the Encyclical which describe the supposed intrigues of the Modernists and their vulgar attempts to favour those who "embark on their vessel," to the letters of Loisy to Baron Friederich von Hügel. What sincerity there is between these

two friends, what mutual respect, what freedom of judgment! In reading these pages I could not help thinking that much as Loisy must have suffered at seeing his former friends abandon him, fearful lest they should ruin their career, he has, on the other hand, been privileged to know, more than many of his contemporaries, more above all than Pope or cardinals, what power and virtue there are in a friendship which is just the union of two souls journeying to the same goal, *più ampia luce e più profondo amore.*

Since the letters published by M. Loisy have revealed to all the world how important is Baron von Hügel's place in the religious crisis of our time, there is no reason why I should not, in my turn, tell of the veneration, the glad and ardent affection with which every Modernist in Europe and America regards him. Though he is well known in the scientific world through his vigorous works on Biblical exegesis, the general public may be said to be ignorant of the influence—certainly involuntary and largely unconscious—which he is exercising over present-day Catholic thought.

There are, in various parts of the world, certain intelligent and broad-minded bishops, who consider

that they are entitled to call themselves good Roman Catholics without being obliged to think that the ideal of the Church will be best attained by substituting for the episcopate a system of phonographs to repeat in every place the words put by divine revelation day by day into the mouth of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The Modernists know that they can count upon the warm sympathy of these prelates, and they are deeply grateful for the marks of this sympathy which are shown them from time to time. It is a comforting thought to them that even in the hierarchy there is a minority which follows their progress, gives them its encouragement, and desires the strengthening and the triumph of their cause. But the more they rejoice at this the more anxious they are not to create difficulties for this minority, not to give cause for intrigues and delations which could only result in depriving the Church of some of her most enlightened and devoted men. It is for this reason and by the very logic of events that Baron von Hügel has become, so to speak, the lay bishop of the Modernists.

If they could ever think of choosing a leader their thoughts would certainly turn to him first of all, for

while he has grappled with all the problems which preoccupy them—Biblical criticism, the philosophy of religion, social questions—he has been able to co-ordinate and harmonise the results of these labours, and the outcome has been in his case not a negative criticism of the past but a glorious taking possession of both past and present.*

All the world over there are priests who feel for this humble-minded layman an unspeakable affection and a gratitude which they often do not venture to express. Not only has he encouraged and enlightened them; he has shown them, above all, that Modernism of the freest type may lead to an intensity of religious life which is unknown to those who oppose and persecute it.

In September 1907 a number of priests and laymen who have in various ways influenced the movement of ideas in the Catholic Church, met together for three days in the Tyrolese Alps to exchange ideas,

* One of his last works, *The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch*, by Professor C. A. Briggs of New York and Baron von Hügel, is an excellent example of his power of setting forth in all its aspects a difficult and complex question, and of answering it with equal tact and firmness. This short volume is one of those manifestations of Modernism of which ecclesiastical authority has not seen the importance.

counsels and hopes. Friederich von Hügel was present, but with his accustomed humility he remained a listener merely and kept himself in the background. On the morning of their departure, however, he gathered the friends together in his own room and addressed them in words so simple and yet so burning that those who were privileged to hear have treasured them up in their memory. For them it was one of those rare moments when life seems transfigured but still real, when men become conscious of the mysterious forces within and yet above and beyond themselves.

The priest who, in a low voice full of emotion, told me a few months later about this scene, added that all those present had been reminded of St Paul's farewell to the elders of the Ephesian Church.

In face of facts of this kind one may well think that the anti-Modernists are quite unaware how nobly religious these men are. Do they not show as much blindness in regard to them as is shown in regard to Catholics by those excessively simple anticlericals who honestly believe that religion is nothing but a system of ridiculous beliefs skilfully kept up by the priests in order to exploit human stupidity?

The meeting of which I have spoken was watched by the spies of orthodoxy. A few days later the papers which imperiously dictate to ecclesiastical authority, published names and perfidiously inquired whether such and such a Protestant had not been present. In this way they were able, without actually stating what was untrue, to inspire their ingenuous readers with the conviction that secret meetings had been going on between the Modernists and the Protestants. Not less sad is their utter failure to understand, even vaguely, what these men are working for—these men whom they know personally and are forced to respect though they regard them as antagonists. The only thing that struck them—if I may be forgiven for saying so—was the fact that the Abbé Romolo Murri was wearing a frock-coat!

Many representatives of orthodoxy are at a loss to understand the success of Modernism; they can find no other charge to bring against it than that which dying Paganism flung at advancing Christianity—the Christians were accused of atheism, the Modernists are charged with unbelief and agnosticism. But the real reason why they multiply so fast is that

they have life within them: "they feel themselves called upon to substitute for a system of education based on maledictions, restrictions and insincerity, an education open to the light and air, to life in its fulness—good tidings of great joy, a proclamation of peace and love to all." (*Nova et Vetera*, vol ii. p. 14).

Orthodoxy may treat them as rebels, but it is their right and their duty to beseech her to make serious inquiry and see whether the charge does not rather apply to herself. She it is who rebels against those signs of the times which she so completely misunderstands, who processions in front of modern civilisation with her images and statuary as though she imagined that she could and ought to exorcise it.

It was the Church which gave birth to the sublime idea of catholicity, but she must have courage to lift up her eyes and see that she is realising it less and less, that the people and the peoples are abandoning her more and more—not because they have no ideals but because *her* ideals are no longer living or effective.

To say frankly and simply, as Loisy does, to those who govern the Church, how impossible it is to carry

out their orders, is no more disloyalty to the Church than it is disloyalty to one's country to refuse to obey the orders of a general who is ignorant of the real position of the troops. The Holy See will no more save the Church by excommunicating the Modernists than such a general would save his army by shooting the men who are courageous enough to warn him of his errors.

MODERNISM

I

When I received the Jowett Committee's flattering invitation to come and speak to you, I accepted it at once and with enthusiasm. Yet, believe me, I was keenly conscious of the difficulty and anxiety of the task with which I had been honoured; I felt I was undertaking a heavy responsibility, first of all towards my audience, in coming to discourse to you on a question so complex and so burning, and then towards those of whom I have to speak, since my appreciations will be those of a spectator, deeply interested indeed and most friendly, but one who is far from possessing the intellectual training, the youthful energy, and the spiritual fervour which are needed to speak of them with competence and authority.

What decided me at once was the thought that we were to be gathered together in memory and in some sense under the protection of the famous

Master of Balliol: that distinguished teacher, whose whole life was filled with the endeavour to open the doors of his heart and the windows of his intellect towards new and ever vaster horizons, would have liked the subject we are to discuss. He would have liked, I am sure, the spirit of humility and warm sympathy in which I shall try to treat it. Since Jowett's chief preoccupation was to discourage dogmatism and to encourage thought, he would not only have felt curiosity as to the outburst of life which has lately taken place in the Roman Catholic Church, and has been baptised with the very unsuitable name of Modernism, but he would have felt that between himself and it there was a profound, though perhaps distant and mysterious harmony.

My aim then, as you have already guessed, I hope, is not to pronounce a final judgment on Modernism and anti-Modernism, but to turn your attention in that direction, to counsel you not to let yourselves be absorbed in the cares of your own churches, and to show you that close by us there is about to begin, nay, there has already begun, a struggle—intellectual, moral and religious—of rare beauty and immense fruitfulness.

To get a clear view of it, to understand the relative position of the combatants and gain the right, if not to enlist in one of the two armies, at least to send up prayers with a good conscience for the one side or the other, we need to make a courageous effort to struggle against the stream not only of the ideas which surround us, but of our own ideas and our habitual judgments. There again, you see, we shall be guided by that characteristic method of Jowett's which won him for nearly fifty years an influence that is easier to feel than to analyse and define.

You will now understand how deep is the gratitude which I have to express to your Committee, and my emotion at the thought of undertaking in your company a study of so delicate a nature. In appearance we shall be discussing men who live far away from us. But you will soon perceive that in reality the struggle between Modernism and anti-Modernism will rapidly extend to your own churches and chapels. If we will but look within ourselves we shall see that it exists within us, that in our own hearts and intellects there are a Modernist and an anti-Modernist at war.

We have already travelled far from the ecclesiastical events in France which lately attracted so much attention. Everyone is beginning to see that the crisis of the Separation was only an episode, a detail, an accident, compared to the formidable inner crisis with which the Roman Church is labouring, not only in France, but in Italy, England, Germany, in all countries in the world.

The Separation of Church and State was hardly more than a political fact. Its importance was the importance of a symptom. It constituted a defeat, not for the Roman Church considered as a spiritual society, but for the government of the Church, for the Vatican, in short; since that government had mobilised all its forces, material and spiritual, to prevent the passing of the law.

All the world over loud and rash prayers were sent up, to put God under the necessity, so to speak, of manifesting His power. New devotions were invented to touch the Virgin's heart, to force the hands of the old saints. New saints even were canonised, but without result; the heavens remained dumb.

Dumb, too, was the Catholic nation of France; in vain did Rome issue pressing Bulls; it received them

with but wandering attention, or even with scorn. It was only religious politics—all that—of no concern to its conscience, its religion, or its faith. Sufficient attention, perhaps, has hardly been paid to this fact, especially outside France.

France is not a nation of atheists, materialists or sceptics; after a little discreet questioning one sees that it is a characteristic of her personality to be preoccupied with ideals; Frenchmen wish to go to Mass, to a real, traditional Mass, said by a priest in communion with his bishop and the Holy Apostolic See; but what they absolutely will not have is the continual profanation of that Mass by politics. What they detest above all is the turning of their village church and sacristy into electioneering centres.

If, at the outset of the great discussions about the Separation, Rome had said, as the majority of the episcopate desired: "As a matter of theory and tradition the Church prefers the union; but, since in America there is Separation, and Catholicism fares no worse there than elsewhere, we leave the question free and open;" if the bishops had been seen taking part in the debate like ordinary citizens, seeking to make their views prevail by friendly and courteous

discussion, respecting everybody's ideas, and even everybody's prejudices, things would have gone very differently.

The Separation would have taken place, but it would have come about calmly, peacefully, tranquilly. There would have been neither victors nor vanquished. Now, unhappily, there have been victors and vanquished—victors who are not saints, and vanquished men with whom it is difficult to feel sympathy; who are even doing all they can to bring upon themselves new and more irreparable defeats.

One sees them constantly strutting about on platforms, seeking to attract the crowd by a display of heated nationalism; they are patriots by profession; and yet when closely scrutinised they are soon seen to be precisely the men who bring about national dissolution and disunion. At the outset and in advance they discredit every movement which is not of their own starting, every man who is not their creature; they cry "Union, union," but in their mouths these words mean merely this: "We accept your help if you will obey us—and obey us, not only when we give you orders out loud, but when we

speak in a whisper, and even when we say out loud the opposite of what we mean you to understand." Such is the conduct of those who turned the Separation into a great battle, hoping that they would win.

You will forgive me these reflections, I hope. I shall soon show you how they are connected with our subject. But I had another reason for dwelling on this matter for a moment, and that is that these Frenchmen take a singular pleasure in circulating in foreign lands ideas hostile to their fellow-countrymen and the government of their country. How often do I meet people who, thanks to these men's efforts, are convinced that a sort of religious terrorism prevails in our country, that the churches are closed and the priests forced to be in hiding! If it were not so sad one might find much piquancy in the spectacle provided by these Paladins of patriotism when some cloud rises on their country's horizon. How keen they are to exaggerate it, in the ill-disguised hope that, at the time of some violent crisis, they will have a chance of playing what, in their picturesque language, they call "the last cast"—*le grand coup !*

This "last cast" is the establishment of the

reign of the Sacred Heart* — the reign of God, say those who are rather more old-fashioned; but this reign of the Sacred Heart or reign of God has but a purely verbal relationship to that Kingdom of God with which the Gospels are concerned.

At ordinary times and inside the country such a party is not very dangerous, for everyone knows it; it is only to be feared in moments of crisis; *abroad* it is always to be feared. It is this party which, during the debates on the Separation, succeeded in obscuring the simplest things, in drowning international opinion in floods of news in which the main facts disappeared, and picturesque details, cleverly exploited, absorbed the attention.

The dominant fact in the whole crisis is that our

* A "reign of Mary" has also been invented for us, and the most serious of the Catholic papers open their columns, as the 15th of August draws near, to an "Act of Homage to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Queen of France" (see *e.g.* the *Univers* for August 9, 1908), in which, under colour of celebrating the Feast of the Assumption, Catholic electors are invited to crowd the churches for the *serment au drapeau*. I am convinced that many good Catholics, who would have been present at Mass on the Feast of the Assumption to celebrate a traditional festival, will refrain from attending, lest their presence should be regarded as a sign of their adhesion to the political ideas of Vice-Admiral de Cuverville.

seventy-four bishops, having met together in plenary assembly on May 30, 1906, accepted, by fifty-six votes against eighteen, the scheme of Mgr. Fulbert-Petit, Archbishop of Besançon, which allowed submission to the law,* and that Pope Pius X. took no account whatever of this resolution. The wording of the Encyclical *Gravissimo* of August 10, 1906, did not constitute a lie; it was something worse, it was a deliberate and studied equivocation. It did not state the reverse of the truth, but it gave it to be

* Three resolutions were put to the vote at the first plenary assembly of the bishops, which lasted three days (May 30-June 1). By the first resolution, which was passed with acclamation, and dealt with the general principle, it was decided to send to the Sovereign Pontiff an address prepared by Cardinal Lecot, Archbishop of Bordeaux. (There were only two dissentient votes. The text of this document will be found in the *Osservatore Romano* for August 13, 1906.) The bishops thought they were acting very cleverly in giving in this grandiloquent document a striking mark of their union with the Holy See, and they hoped that Rome would be well satisfied with this manifestation and enter at last into their preoccupations.

Secondly, by forty-eight votes against twenty-six, in secret ballot, they decided in principle that there was reason to seek for a *modus vivendi* which should allow of the formation of associations at once legal and canonical.

Finally, by fifty-six against eighteen, they adopted the scheme proposed by Mgr. Fulbert-Petit. On an attentive reading of this Archbishop's letter, dated April 11, 1907, and published in the *Croix* for June 12 (!), it will be seen that, without going into precise details, it confirms the foregoing in essentials.

understood.* Indeed, all those who know the facts only through this document are persuaded that the French episcopate not merely submitted to the theoretical condemnation of the Law which had already been pronounced by the Pope, but begged

* Here is the text: "After having condemned, as was Our duty, this iniquitous law, We have examined with greatest care whether the articles of the said law would leave Us any means of organising religious life in France in such a way as to safeguard from injury the sacred principles on which Holy Church reposes. To this end it appeared good to Us both to take the council of the assembled episcopate and to prescribe for your general assembly the points which ought to be the principal objects of your deliberations. And now, knowing your views as well as those of several cardinals, and after having maturely reflected and implored by the most fervent prayers the Father of Lights, We see that We ought to confirm fully by Our Apostolic authority the almost unanimous decision of your assembly.

"It is for this reason that, with reference to the associations for public worship as the law establishes them, We decree that it is absolutely impossible for them to be formed without a violation of the sacred rights pertaining to the very life of the Church.

"Putting aside, therefore, these associations which the knowledge of Our duty forbids us to approve, it might appear opportune to examine whether it is lawful to make trial in their place of some other sort of associations at once legal and canonical, and thus to preserve the Catholics of France from the grave complications which menace them. Of a certainty nothing so engrosses and distresses Us as these eventualities; and would to Heaven that We had some hope of being able, without infringing the rights of God, to make this essay, and thus to deliver Our well-beloved sons from the fear of such manifold and such great trials.

"But as this hope fails Us while the law remains what it is, We declare that it is not permissible to try this other kind of association

for its final condemnation. This is precisely the reverse of the truth.*

Rome directed everything; but since, in spite of

as long as it is not established in a sure and legal manner that the Divine Constitution of the Church, the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the Bishops, as well as their authority over the necessary property of the Church and particularly over the sacred edifices, shall be irrevocably placed in the said associations in full security. To desire the contrary is impossible for Us, without betraying the sanctity of Our office and bringing about the ruin of the Church of France." (Translation published in *The Tablet.*)

* The *Osservatore Romano*, the official journal of the Holy See, published in its issue for August 13, 1906, the address drawn up by Cardinal Lecot in the name of the episcopate, and the next day, April 14, gave the text of the Bull *Gravissimo.* The Press all over the world saw a relation of cause and effect between the two documents, and thought that the Holy See, in condemning all coming to terms with the new law, was but echoing the wishes of the French episcopate.

How can the Holy See fail to understand that this publication of one document only out of three, the other two being obviously of greater importance, constitutes an audacious breach of the most elementary principles of honesty: *Quidquid latet apparebit, nil inultum remanebit.*

The French bishops thought that if they showed themselves docile Rome would allow them a certain amount of initiative; they hoped at least to be permitted to make their voices heard in a consultative capacity. They were mistaken.

A second plenary assembly took place on September 4-7, 1906, and a third on January 15-17, 1907. The fourth was in preparation the following summer, when I announced in the *Times* (August 12, 1907) that the Pope had decided to summon no more general meetings of the episcopate. It is now plain that my information was drawn from a reliable source.

the powerful means at her disposal, she still feared decisions which would not fit in with her views, she demanded of the bishops absolute secrecy.

Facts of this kind are much more important than even the passing of the Law of Separation. The Law of Separation separated nothing at all; the name given to it is anything but a fitting one; in reality it was nothing more than a settlement of accounts between a ward and her guardian. Such transactions are always delicate matters and require not only scrupulous uprightness, but uncommon competence in matters of accountancy; they require, too, much tact, much openness, much good feeling. In this instance the guardian was not perfect, but the ward did all she could to impede his operations. She did not succeed.

The settlement may have been fair or unfair, but it has been made once for all, and the loud complaints of the ward no longer affect anyone. The only result of her obstruction is that on the top of the settlement about temporalities there has taken place a separation which she did not expect, and for which she bears the whole responsibility; a separation between the Curia and the Catholic con-

science. The Curia commands and the Catholics of France obey, but, apart from a group of noisy politicians, the Catholics of France—I mean those who serve God and do not make Him serve their own interests—obey with saddened, discouraged, and often even scandalised hearts. The Government of their country has wounded them in their interests, their traditions and their habits, but the Apostolic See has wounded them in the deepest depths of their conscience.

And authority has known nothing, understood nothing of this. She has not even heard the voices of anguish which have risen here and there from the fold.* The supreme Pastor seems to have noticed nothing at all. The men who surround him and speak in his name have said: "Those are the voices of the wolves which prowl round the sheepfold." What blindness, what cynicism!

It is here that the great moral drama of the Separation lies, and not in details, episodes and changing political measures! This drama has been

* *See* in particular the *Supplique d'un Groupe de Catholiques Français au Pape Pie X.* Paris, 1906. This document is as remarkable for the purity of its form as for the beauty of its substance. As it is now difficult to procure I give it as an Appendix.

going on, always the same, for three years. When the French episcopate, assembled in the halls of a castle bearing the prophetic name of " La Muette," tried to make one more advance to the country, with the olive branch in their hands, Pius X. agreed; but he caused the bishops' peaceable declaration to be preceded by a preamble which destroyed its effect beforehand and turned it into a warlike ultimatum.

When the Montagnini papers were published, the organs of the Curia made a deafening racket with their protests against the means by which the French Government had obtained them. But is it not strange that, having made their protest, they did not think of examining the papers and saying what feelings they inspired? Astonishment and disgust are the right words to use here. No honest man would keep in his service a footman of the type of this correspondent of His Holiness's Secretary of State.

Somersaults and flourishes of trumpets alter nothing. The French Government has been threatened with the publication of the whole *dossier*. By all means let it be done, and if the French Government has wallowed in the mire let it be swept away by the public scorn. Let them publish everything. Till

then we have a right to think that these threats are only a bold attempt to mislead public opinion.

Mgr. Montagnini has neither been censured nor repudiated. When a priest is led by his studies to hold new views of the date or authorship of certain books of the Bible, authority fulminates against him, condemns, suspends, excommunicates him; but when the very representative of authority uses for years methods of espionage and delation which would provoke the contempt of a public schoolboy, it is all accepted as normal and legitimate.*

I said just now that the Separation of Church and State in France had but slight importance compared with the crisis of Modernism; this is precisely the case, and I must add that the two are not related as cause and effect. Nevertheless there is rather more than a pure and simple coincidence or concomitance.

The repeated efforts of the French episcopate after

* All the Montagnini papers that have appeared in the various Paris newspapers have been carefully collected and published in a volume with the title of *Les Fiches Pontificales de Mgr. Montagnini* (236 + xiv pp. Paris: Librairie Nourry). The copious notes which accompany most of the documents show plainly that the material has been collected by an expert—by an ecclesiastic, undoubtedly, and one well versed in the affairs of the higher clergy in Rome and Paris.

a conciliatory policy had no point of contact with Modernism, they were the perfectly natural result of the bishops' own reflections. Again, the obstinate determination of Rome to efface every evidence and every trace of these attempts at conciliation did not create Modernism, nor at first even favour its growth. Modernism is in no way a reaction against the peremptory orders of Pius X.; but it would be foolish not to see the indirect influence which his decisions have had upon the crisis, and henceforward we may welcome him as an incomparable though involuntary helper of the new ideas.

Modernism! I have a right to be proud, for, if Pius X. has given it its name, it was I who, a long time back, and in London, announced the birth of this splendid movement, and sought to draw attention to it.* I seem still to hear the echoes of the laughter which I provoked in the Press that speaks in the name of the Holy See. The most moderate papers said that I had taken my wishes for realities and was attributing importance to facts that had none, or even that I was trying, by talking about a movement

* In lectures delivered in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey and in Kensington Town Hall in 1902.

that did not exist, to create one. And now, in the Syllabus *Lamentabili* of July 3, 1907, and especially in the Encyclical *Pascendi* of September 8, Pius X. has devoted to the new movement the two most important documents (so far) of his pontificate.

Yet, if I were to give the term "Modernist" the same meaning as the Holy Father does, my lectures would soon be done, for there is not in the land of the living a monster of the type he describes. Or, if you prefer, I will say, to be quite exact, that I have never met one, though for long years I have been a constant frequenter of churches, sacristies and monasteries.

He is a nightmare creature with the voice of a lamb, the tail of a fox, the jaw of a wolf, and the wings of a seraph. What makes him particularly dangerous is that, though he is a compound of all errors, you can accuse him of no vice—he is neither drunken, nor lewd, nor slothful.

But if the Pope is mistaken in his description of the Modernists it does not at all follow that those whose portrait he draws have no existence; it merely follows that the portrait is a bad one. In writing the Bull Pius X. was aiming at men who really existed in flesh and blood, and, though the name "Modernist"

is quite unsatisfactory, we may use it for the sake of convenience, since those on whom the Pope has his eye and those of whom I wish to speak are the very same men.

Why has he not given their names? If we asked those in high places the reason for this silence, they would answer that it was due to pity. If authority had any thought of pity, it might have shown it far more effectually in other ways—for example, by not forcing old priests to choose between retracting ideas at which they had involuntarily arrived and being thrown on the streets to die of hunger.

As a matter of fact ecclesiastical authority has been greatly embarrassed by the formidable length of the lists of suspects already received at the Curia. The denounced Modernists are legion, and there has been a fear of creating a sort of intellectual panic among the masses of a flock which, though generally very submissive, would not, if once frightened and scattered, be easy to bring back to the fold.

A last reason for not giving the names was that, in spite of the shortness of its memory, ecclesiastical authority knows that many of those whom it has persecuted have afterwards been canonised.

I will give you some names, but I will give you very few, and will confine myself to those that are foremost in the thoughts of Pius X. They will be the names of those against whom rigorous measures have already been taken. At the risk of failing to convey to you the wide extent of the movement I will avoid naming those who are watched by the Holy See's police. It is no good letting my lectures serve as indictments for the Index or the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.

There are among the clergy, among the bishops, and I might almost say in the bosom of the Sacred College itself, souls in anguish and distress. Day after day, hour after hour, these priests and prelates ask themselves if they shall raise their voices and proclaim aloud to the supreme authority, before all men, what they have already so often murmured low to it—namely, that though Rome is the centre of the Church she is not the Church, that authority has its own province, that the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world, that the very term " Pontifical policy " shows a forgetting of the ideal, an illusion, a fall. . . . They would like to prostrate themselves at the Pope's feet, to tell him of their love and also of

the pain and fear through which they are passing. . . . But they know that Pius X., who did not understand Fogazzaro, would not understand them. And then when they think of all the wrong conclusions which would be drawn from their action, of the joy it would give to the other side—to those poor deformed intellectuals who think they possess the truth because they always say, or think they say, the opposite of what the Church says—they feel themselves held back.

Many there are who have no understanding of this hesitation, this trouble of mind, who see nothing in it but laziness, cowardice, opportunism. That is a great mistake. The Church is the traditional home. Life in it has become very difficult, almost insupportable, and yet the true courage is to remain there; the heroic course is to endure the reign of terror and suspicion which prevails. A band of hirelings have succeeded in getting round the father of the family, and have built up between him and his most devoted children an impassable wall. It is a duty to remain there, for the day will inevitably come when the father will be abandoned by the hirelings, and will recall those for whom to-day he

has nothing but angry looks and words of malediction.

It is this state of feeling that I should like to explain to you in my lectures, so that you may understand, admire and love it. Modernism is in no degree contained in an intellectual proposition; it is not a system or a new synthesis, it is an orientation. It is more than a vital or strenuous effort, for an effort implies an act of conscious will, and the movement is, in its origin, a thing essentially natural and unforced. It is a welling-up of sap, of life, of which one is conscious, but which nothing could have brought about if the time had not been fulfilled. Of this movement, so wide, so complex, so profound, I wish to give you a consciousness rather than a knowledge. In its origin, its beginnings, its soul, it is essentially a Roman Catholic movement, but one can see from certain sympathetic thrillings that religious bodies which believed themselves for ever separated from Rome and quite without contact with her, still share her life. The wine of Algeria, carried thousands of miles away, ferments mysteriously when the vine from which its grapes have been gathered is in flower. Some-

thing of the same kind takes place in the realm of ideas.

You will now understand how difficult it is to find a fit name for this movement. That of "Modernism" is no better and no worse than others, so long as it is quite understood to be a chance, accidental name, hit upon in an emergency, perhaps even a name of angry abuse. It has been adopted by Pius X., who took it from the Jesuit Fathers in Rome, with the obvious purpose of throwing discredit on tendencies of thought of which he understood neither the richness nor the depth. It is worth just about as much as the word "papist," which is thrown at the heads of Catholics by adversaries who are more anxious to caricature than to understand them.

The term "Liberalism" is no better, for while it suggests one of the most obvious results of the present orientation, it tends to conceal what is new and deep in it. "Liberalism" has been used too long to designate men who were Catholics in a more superficial way than their co-religionists, while the Modernists on the contrary are Catholics in a deeper way. Besides, "Liberalism" seems to suggest an easy-going attitude, sometimes a rather sceptical

or opportunist one, with regard to dogma. For example, there is an American Liberal Catholicism which takes its colour from its surroundings. A New York priest is quite different in his ways from a Roman, a Neapolitan or a Milanese, but these differences mean very little because they have no deep root.

The great public, which sees things from a distance and in the lump, is inclined to class together the liberal priest, who does not take his ministry quite seriously, and the priest who, having penetrated to the depths of the Church's life, gains in that intense communion a power which no obstacles can stop, a vision which looks beyond them all. They are both free, but for very different reasons and with opposite results.

The word " Modernism " gives quite an excessive importance to one feature of the new movement. It is indeed true that the men of whom we speak are modern, not only because they are alive to-day but because they are not afraid of their contemporaries and do not form a black spot in the midst of them. We feel, and they themselves feel, that they are men of their own time and nation with more power than others. But the term " Modernists " is intended

to insinuate that they are paying court to the present generation, that they are preparing to sign concordats with it, not to say capitulations. I will not discuss whether there is more harm in signing a concordat with the people of the twentieth century than in signing one with Napoleon I. or any other potentate; I will content myself with affirming that there is no attempt of the kind—absolutely none —on the part of those of whom I speak.

Not long ago they were called "Loisyists." That name has been dropped, chiefly to avoid giving the Abbé Loisy the halo of a heresiarch. It is quite true that Loisy is one of the most representative men in the crisis, one of those through whom the new tendencies have taken definite shape; but he has always been regarded by himself and by his friends and disciples, as a spectator of the movement and not as its creator and head. It has no creator or head, or if there is one it is the spirit which, after having spoken of old through the patriarchs and prophets, spoke afterwards through Jesus Christ and the Church.

The Modernists, then, are not neo-Catholics, nor even reformers who, having before their eyes the

model of an ideal and perfect Church, would like to bring their own Church into conformity with this pattern; they accept all the Church's past without exception, for the very good reason that the past is past and it is not our place to judge it. They accept it in the same spirit in which we accept our country's past. Can you imagine a man who, before admitting his citizenship, could think it necessary to study and judge all the past? We instinctively feel that our country need not be perfect to be loved and served; it is sacred, not as a metaphysical dogma or an unreal phantom, but because it is continually creating new duties for us. It is continually changing, and yet it is eternal, for we cannot imagine in the past a society so embryonic as not to have created some duties for its members. And though our efforts to foresee the future may show us our country transfigured, they still show us a society in which social duty, far from disappearing, will have gained new vigour.

If we would give the Modernists their true name we must call them purely and simply Catholics. They are Catholics indeed in the fullest sense, in the religious, philosophical and historical meaning of the

word. They are Catholics, because for them religious thought is not a part or a detail of their life: it is at once its atmosphere and its soul. They are Catholics, because, without having need of a complete and final philosophy, they feel themselves isolated neither in time nor space; they are links in an immense tradition and it lies with them to be living, conscious, willing links. They are Catholics, because, though they feel themselves but a drop of water in the ocean, they are certain that this drop of water has its value, its mission. By itself it is less than naught, but if, knowing its nothingness, it accepts the duty of service and enters into the harmony of creation, it has renounced itself and found itself, it has lost its life and found it again.

You will tell me, perhaps, that there is nothing specifically Catholic in all this, that Protestants may pass through similar experiences. There is obviously no rule without an exception, and the barriers which divide the different churches are in ruins almost everywhere, and nobody thinks of rebuilding them. In Protestantism there are many Catholic souls, and in Catholicism many Protestant souls, but all these inconsistencies do not alter the fact that there is a

difference of tendency between the Catholic mentality and the Protestant.

Whatever may be the denomination or school to which a Protestant belongs, his mentality is individualistic. He feels, indeed, the pressure of his time and surroundings, but he reduces it to a minimum; his passion for independence tends to make him an isolated unit. If he comes to understand the necessity for combination he will understand it with his intellect rather than his heart; he will be inclined to make it an instrument of commerce, if not an instrument of war. His private house is always finer than the temple or church where he meets his brethren.

For the Catholic, on the contrary, the church where he meets his brethren is his true home, his real centre, his focus. In Calabria, in the villages destroyed by the earthquakes two years ago, almost all the churches were rebuilt in a few months. I will admit that there may have been some superstition at work, but superstition could have done nothing if beneath it there had not been a deep instinct that in isolation from his fellows man is incomplete.

You see how mistaken is the opinion of those who regard Modernism as a Protestant infiltration. The

controversialists who have invented the word have also invented the thing. Once I considered them very clever and thought they had sent forth this cry somewhat after the manner of a man who wants to get rid of a dog, and runs after it saying that it is mad. Now I am tempted to judge differently, and to think that the Jesuit Fathers, who for fifteen years have gone on repeating and amplifying the infiltration theory, have been merely naive. They have thought of the Protestant just as in my village the shepherd girls think of the wolf, though they have never seen one, simply because on winter evenings their grandmothers have made them frightened of him.

One thing is certain, and that is that *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, the one book of all M. Loisy's writings which is considered by anti-Modernists to be the charter of the new movement, is a thorough-going refutation of Dr Harnack and Dean Auguste Sabatier. I am well aware that in certain circles it has been insinuated that this is a literary fiction, and that in reality the author's intention was to elude the vigilance of the guardians of orthodoxy by pretending to attack Protestantism, while his only wish was to serve its cause and prepare the way for it. I shall not

insult you or the Abbé Loisy by examining such charges.

In certain Paris churches, it is true, discussions are held with as little sincerity as this. I have myself attended one at S. Germain l'Auxerrois. A debate is announced, and on the appointed day you see one of the parish clergy ascend the pulpit, while on a platform facing him stands a sort of accomplice, who plays the part of Devil's Advocate. The Devil's Advocate, need I add, always allows himself to be miserably beaten by the representative of God, and retires, laying down his arms. I do not think a single one of M. Loisy's readers can have believed the ending of *L'Evangile et Eglise* to be a *dénouement* of this kind. On the contrary, thousands and thousands of Catholics have felt immense gratitude to the man who has in some sort put them on their feet again, who, taking Protestantism as expounded by one of its most authorised representatives, has shown the profound opposition between it and the true Catholic orientation. Viewed from this height and with this calmness Catholicism is no longer *a* religion, it is religion itself; not a religion which was final and absolute yesterday, or ought to be so to-morrow, but a living and eternal

religion, which has no beginning and will have no end, which, always the same and eternally new, will gradually draw all men to itself, and will sow in their hearts seeds which each generation will pay back with ever fairer and more nourishing harvests.

If it were merely a matter of the study or exegesis of the books of the Bible, the question of Protestant influence would be debatable. Loisy hardly gives one the impression of a populariser who excels in exploiting other people's work; and it would have to be pointed out also that at the very moment when Protestant science seems to be, if not checked for the time being, at any rate pausing to take stock of itself, Catholic science is producing one masterpiece of erudition and synthesis after another. Questions of mutual influence are matters of estimates, and no one can hope to decide them finally. The republic of letters is no empty name. He who takes up exegetical work on any question, however limited in scope, has much difficulty, even with the best intentions in the world, in seeing where his personal contribution begins and where his debt ends to earlier works or to the intellectual atmosphere which surrounds him. Biblical studies, however, are but one

field of action of the new movement. The most that can be said is that its influence has been more visible there than elsewhere, just as the coming of spring is announced by the blossoming almond tree, and yet the almond blossom is but a faint indication of the life that is returning. Modernism is a spiritual spring which penetrates, vivifies and rejuvenates all things.

However, to consider exegesis only, it may be said that between Protestant and Modernist exegesis there is a profound difference. Without intending or even suspecting it, the Protestant exegete—at any rate as we have commonly known him so far—while doubtless he does not actually start with the conclusions to be reached already in his mind, has something in his intellectual habits which impoverishes the sense of the text he is studying. He proceeds to examine his author, and very often his examination resembles that of a judge who, instead of letting the witness speak, puts questions to him which, by the very way they are put, tend to alter his testimony.

In face of any product of the past the Protestant, with his *doctrinaire* turn of mind, puts this question to himself: Is it true or false, good or bad? You know,

for example, how Luther spoke of the Epistle of St James as "an epistle of straw." Now the Modernist has not this judicial instrument in his brain, these compasses always ready for use. A fact is a fact. For a certain school of theology the Epistle of James is an epistle of straw, but it is only an epistle of straw for that particular school. It is not that, nor the opposite, for the historian. For him it is a product of the Church's life, and must be provided with the means to give its witness freely. *It* must speak, not we.

The Modernist, then, looks at the past and strives to see it in all its complexity. This, it is true, has always been the attitude of the pure *savant;* the Modernist introduces a new element — he is conscious of belonging to the past; he does not consider himself a chance spectator; he feels the life which flows through all things, the past still lives in him. It is because of this sense of intimate union with the past that Modernist exegesis has an entirely original aspect when compared with Protestant exegesis.

It is true, however, that in certain quarters there are infiltrations, or rather reverberations, of Pro-

testantism, but it is at Rome that I find them, and in the acts of official authority. Protestantism, by exalting individualism and independence more and more, has gradually led authority to lose sight of its true nature. By a process of reaction authority has come to confound anti-Protestantism with Catholicism; and I am bound to say that in this matter its practice is no better than its theory. For Rome the good bishop is the anti-Modernist bishop. In the literature of nearly every country in the world there is found the figure of the priest who is not very intelligent, but makes up for his intellectual defects by his goodness and benevolence—the priest who blesses. Pius X. is on his way to create another type—the priest who curses.

Some months ago Frenchmen were asking with astonishment whatever could have led the Pope to make a cardinal of Mgr. Andrieu, Bishop of Marseilles, one of the least known and most obscure of our prelates. No long search was needed: Mgr. Andrieu, preaching in his cathedral on Christmas Day, 1906, had managed to extract from the hymn of the angels at Bethlehem a declaration of war against the principles of democracy, and had contrasted them

with the principles of the Gospel. Yet more, this anti-democratic bishop is also the bitter foe of historical learning. It would be impossible now to find in France, or in all Europe, a single studious priest who would maintain that the Gospel was preached at Marseilles by Lazarus, the dead man raised at Bethany; at Tarascon by St Martha; at Aix by St Mary Magdalene. That these graceful stories are purely legendary has been superabundantly proved by *savants* as much favoured by authority as Mgr. Duchesne, as little iconoclastic as those Brussels Jesuits, the celebrated Bollandist Fathers. This general agreement on a purely historical question would have made an impression upon anyone else. Upon Mgr. Andrieu it made none. His absolute intransigence, in not merely knowing nothing of democracy and scientific study but in excommunicating them, seemed to Pius X. to make him exceptionally eligible. At the last Consistory it was rewarded, consecrated, exalted, by the bestowal of the red hat.

You see, do you not, how by way of antithesis to Protestantism, and in order to preserve itself from the influence of modern ideas, a section of the Church,

the section which at present governs her, shuts itself up in isolation, surrounds itself with intrenchments and fortifications, and, losing its character of catholicity, becomes a sect.

Instead of panic-stricken old men who, in spite of all the warnings they receive, never cease to invite battles which they always lose, Modernism shows us young men who advance calmly and courageously to face life—the whole of life. They need no elaborate code to tell them what they owe to the past; they know that they are sons of their fathers, grandsons of their grandfathers, great-grandsons of their great-grandfathers; they feel that, though this short tradition includes very diverse elements, they are its offspring and nothing can alter the fact that they are its offspring. They feel that true filial respect does not lie in mechanically repeating their fathers' ideas but in continuing them, thinking and living them out again. The treasure of religious tradition is not a deposit which we have to give back intact, it is a living seed which should bear fruit in our hands.

When a son, after having listened affectionately to his father's teaching and assimilated it, puts it to the test, and arrives at the conviction that his duty is to

correct it in certain respects, how great is his joy if on coming back to the old fireside he sees that his father, far from being pained, follows him with looks of blessing in this step forward! Is not that a singularly beautiful spectacle?

I was saying just now that Modernism was neither a party nor a school, but an orientation. It would be a singularly delicate task to point out characteristic signs by which its adherents could be recognised, so different are they from one another. By the side of the Biblical scholar, the historian, the *savant*, there is the democrat pure and simple; by the side of the poet there is the humble, hard-working priest; by the side of the bishop the mere seminarist. Yet, in spite of all these differences of position, of interests, of vocation, they recognise one another. There is no list drawn up, no badge or watchword, and yet they know each other by instinct, draw together, and become one heart and one soul. You know the beautiful passage in the *Fioretti* which tells how S. Louis, King of France, came to the little convent at Monte Ripido. No one had recognised him; he entered Brother Giles's cell, sat down close to him, and remained there for two hours without a

word being spoken. They understood one another, and in that silent converse said more than all the speech in the world could have expressed.

Something of this sort is true of the Modernists. They recognise each other without ever having met. They have no need to agree about theses, for there is a deeper and more living harmony between them. They curse no man; they curse nothing; they hope all things.

Jesus in His Gospel has left us an immortal portrait of the anti-Modernist—the man who is rich in self-esteem, who counts himself to have attained, who goes up to the Temple at the hour of prayer and thanks God that he is not as other men are. He has left us also a portrait of the ideal Modernist in the words in which He described His own mission. Like the Modernists of to-day He was charged by the ecclesiastical authority of His time with being a revolutionary, a destroyer, a rebel, and yet He had declared, not only by His words but by His deeds, that He was not come to abolish the Law and the Prophets but to fulfil them.

One often meets Protestants who ask the Modernists, "Who are you? What is your doctrine? Make an

attempt to systematise your thought and to answer the questions we are going to put to you." Such inquiries prove that those who make them have failed to get outside themselves or to understand the new orientation. The Gospels show us many such scenes taking place around Jesus, and describe them thus: "Then drew near the Pharisees to tempt Him." Let us try not to be like the Pharisees.

Other people come and say to the Modernists: "You proclaim yourselves Catholics, and doubtless you are sincere in doing so; but Catholicism is a religion of authority, and lo! authority rejects, repudiates, expels you." The objection looks formidable, and has often been brought forward of late, and yet it is childish after all. When the government of a country regards a group of citizens unfavourably, are they *ipso facto* a group of bad citizens? Are they not often the salt of their country and its one hope for the future? Has England, that land of freedom, which opens its gates so wide to exiles of all nations, ever thought of telling them that they must become naturalised and abandon their country of origin? The idea has never occurred to her; she knows well enough that banishment doubles a man's love for his

country. Authority may exile the Modernists; it will never be able to separate them from the soul of the Church, or prevent them from being attached to her by bonds of love which no human government can break.

Solidarity, love, communion—these are the words which rise oftenest to one's lips when one tries to understand the character of the new movement. The Modernists are quite resolved to conform to the end, if they can, to all the Church's laws. (You know that monastic rules foresee cases where the superior orders something which is contrary to conscience and where it is the duty of the inferior to refuse obedience.) But their obedience is not the formal compliance of a lawyer, nor the dumb servility of a mercenary or a slave; it is the obedience of sons, a close, living union with the Church, a sharing in her movement and activity. In one word, Modernism is an awakening. Had it occurred amid Protestant surroundings, it would have taken the form of individual conversions and regenerations, but occurring amid Catholic surroundings it has taken the form of an intense need for communion—communion with the past by exegetical and historical study, communion

with the present by a new apologetic and by democratic endeavour, and communion with the future which men are striving to prepare. It is an unexpected current of mysticism, passing over our age and giving unspeakable fervour and power to those who drink of it.

On July 7, 1907, the day of the Garibaldi commemoration, I was in Florence. The people's enthusiasm was at its height, the whole city was thrilled with a common emotion of patriotic piety. Three buildings only, in the very heart of the city, made a discord in this symphony of enthusiasm. The Archbishop's palace, the glittering cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, and the Baptistery, these houses of God built of old by the people and for the people, remained silent, jealously closed, bereft of all decoration. All through the day the splendid dome seemed to say to the city's rejoicing: "What have I to do with thee? I know thee not."

The people wished to mark their sense of this abstention and this antithesis. Towards evening they defiled through the city in hundreds of companies. They decided that on passing the cathedral

and the Archbishop's palace they would return silence for silence, disdain for disdain. On reaching the *piazza* the singing and the music ceased; in front of the palace flags and banners were silently lowered, the points towards the ground, in token of reprobation.

I shall never forget the spectacle—the Church no longer understanding the people whom she had brought up, and the people wounded by their mother and their teacher in their deepest instincts, in their patriotic religion.

The march past was almost at an end, when all at once, up at the top of the blind and mute archiepiscopal residence, a little window suddenly opened. A head appeared, a hand waved a flag—the tricoloured flag of free and united Italy—and in the great silence, which was increased by the people's astonishment, a cry fell, "*Evviva l'Italia!*"—"Long live Italy!"

Suddenly it resounded, a cry of pain, of anguish, of triumph. In the twinkling of an eye the Garibaldian procession had halted, flags and banners were raised again. A tremendous cheer rang out, and in the eyes of many of these men, who a moment before had

been angry and bitter, there glistened tears of joy, the pure and holy joy of life finding life where it could no longer expect it.

Is not that the same scene in miniature which Modernism shows us on a vaster stage? Those who govern the Roman Church pout at modern civilisation. They care nothing for our scientific interests, and just as little for our people's aspirations. But see! in Rome itself and at the Vatican, in London as in Paris, in Milan as in Munich, at Louvain as at Fribourg, from the depths of palaces, convents, seminaries, universities, voices have called. Life still palpitates where all seemed so dead. We will acclaim it as the Garibaldians did at Florence, and return to our work with one more joy and hope and love.

II

In the foregoing lecture I tried to describe the character of the Catholic renaissance itself, to show you how it is a crisis of organic and harmonious growth, an inner elaboration as natural and marvellous as that of a plant which expands and blossoms. To-day I should like to enter into some less general details and to name some of the men who are being tracked down by Rome without respite and without pity. In Rome it is actually regretted that the Council of Ten and the Spanish Inquisition are no more! *

* This assertion is too grave to pass without documentary evidence. Here is the text in its integrity and its crudity. In the *Corrispondenza Romana* (as to this interesting organ *see* Introduction, page 13) of September 18, 1907, the following may be read :

" We have ascertained the dominant note of the first comments that have been made in non-Catholic journals and circles with regard to the Encyclical *Pascendi*.

" The supreme importance, theoretical and practical, of the pontifical document, is universally admitted, not to speak of the excellence of its conception and exposition in its doctrinal part. As to the disciplinary precautions of the practical part, there is a desire, in the said journals

I will not speak to you about the English Modernists, although some of them are of the very first rank; I will not speak about them for two very good reasons: first, because you ought to know them much better than I do; second, because one only is known to Rome. He, it is true, is worth many others; he is Father George Tyrrell, late of the Society of Jesus.

Has England then escaped the taint of Modernism? I regret that I must disturb the peace of the good Pius X. a little more, by telling him that the reports he receives from the English episcopate are, like all official documents, unduly optimistic. The Holy Father is told that all is going well because it gratifies him, and it is pleasanter to send him good news, and also because a bishop likes to keep the management of his own diocese. The Catholic bishops of Great

and circles, to find in them a terrorism recalling the names of the Spanish Inquisition and the Council of Ten.

"We have asked in the most competent ecclesiastical circles for an opinion of this criticism, and the reply may be summed up thus: 'The names, so much abused, of the Spanish Inquisition and the Council of Ten, may impress the ignorant, but not those who know how much the Inquisition contributed to keep Spain always and completely Catholic, and how much of the power and longevity of her Republic Venice owed to the Council of Ten; so that the recalling of these two abused memories is, in our case, if ever, a justification and a good augury.'"

Britain feel what an uncontrollable rising of public opinion there would be over here against Rome the day she treated your country as she has treated Catholic France and Italy.

Great Britain has produced two of the most influential forerunners of Continental Modernism—Dr Caird and Cardinal Newman. Dr Caird has acted on the Modernists from without. He has drawn their attention to problems into which, but for him, they would never have inquired; it is through him especially, and through Auguste Sabatier and Professor Rudolf Eucken, that they have learnt to know Protestantism. To this fact, no doubt, the serenity of their discussions is due. These are on so high a plane that often the anti-Modernist does not understand them, and takes for a surrender what comes, on the contrary, from the Modernist's consciousness of the security of his position.*

Cardinal Newman has acted on the Modernists from within; it is in his company that they have set out to study the life of dogma, the life of the Church, and

* *See* page 23 above in regard to M. Loisy's letter to a student of the Faculty of Theology at Geneva.

the most delicate and complex questions of personal autonomy and of obedience. It has been noisily affirmed of late that the Encyclical *Pascendi* did not touch the celebrated Cardinal under whose protection the innovators imprudently placed themselves. That the Bull was not aimed at Newman I am quite sure, for the very good reason that its editors did not know Newman. That his ideas are not touched by its condemnations let those say who will and who can.

It will always be possible to cite a large number of expressions both for and against. Thought so rich, so penetrating as Newman's, cannot easily be shut up in the narrow *doctrinaire* cage of the theologians whom Pius X. honours with his confidence. Pius X. and Newman! What a contrast, what a distance between them! Do not think that I wish to insinuate that if Newman had been living he would have set himself up against the Sovereign Pontiff. What he would have done I do not know. Probably the idea of revolt would not even have occurred to him. On reading the long exposition in the Bull he would, no doubt, have passed through a veritable moral agony. What I do know is that, on reaching the last pages,

those which have more claim than the others to the paternity of Pius X., when he had seen the Head of his Church, the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, putting his sole trust for the Church's future in measures of repression and suffocation, and organising an intellectual police narrower, more suspicious, more tyrannical than any of which history has preserved the memory, a deeper red than that of his Cardinal's robe would have mounted to his face.

However this may be, ecclesiastical authority has proclaimed that it did not aim at Newman, and you know what excellent reasons we have to take its word. It has not aimed at him, but this does not mean that it debars itself from aiming at him when it perceives his presence, or rather his ideas and influence.

Please remember this: If, as I hope it will, the pontificate of Pius X. lasts long enough for the methods of terrorism and inquisition to be carried to their furthest consequences, and if I have the pleasure of meeting you again in ten years' time, we shall see whether Newman's orthodoxy has been protected from condemnation by Rome. Under the pontificate

of Pius X. it is easy to be a prophet.* One needs no celestial revelations ; it is enough to open one's eyes and follow the proceedings of His Holiness's familiars.

The task is an easy one, for they are neither numerous nor very active. For some time past they have been warning the pontifical booksellers in Rome not to let themselves be carried away by the fashion, and not to be always giving prominence to Newman's books or to books about him. To the students and seminarists

* In the Preface, dated March 14, 1906, to the second edition of my *À propos de la Séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat* (216+lxxxiv pp.), I foresaw it as inevitable (*see* pp. liii-lx), under the pontificate of Pius X., that people would outbid one another in orthodoxy, and that the irreproachably orthodox of one day would become the heretics of the next.

The zealous Press which keeps guard round the Vatican is not only denouncing the two most important journals in the Peninsula—the Milan *Unione* and the Bologna *Avvenire*—but it is now making for the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the celebrated Jesuit organ !

The *Unità Cattolica* (*see* its number for July 5, 1908) has been joined by *La Riscossa*, *La Difesa* and *Le Armonie della Fede* in attacking the Review which has hitherto been considered the bulwark of sound doctrine.

The papers I have just named do not represent ten thousand subscribers in all—and their readers are yet fewer—but what matters it if they have Pius X. on their side ? Now this it is impossible to doubt : it was the Pope himself who reorganised the *Unità* when it was about to expire, and who begged the Abbé Paolo Tommaso de Töth to leave Montefalco and go to Florence to take up its editorship. In France, not only are the Catholics most favoured by Leo XIII. being vilified—M. Fonsegrive (" Yves le Querdec "), for instance—but all those also

it is insinuated that certain of his books have not perhaps been sufficiently purged of every trace of Protestantism, that he was a great writer but a very poor theologian. The name of "Newmanist" has even been put into circulation. That is a grave sign, for in the mouths of those who use it the word is no compliment; a Newmanist is on the downward slope to Modernism. He will not stop in his course; nor, believe me, will the heresy-hunters.

There are many Newmanists in England, and even many Modernists pure and simple. They do not conceal themselves, but they are most effectually protected by the providential ignorance of foreign languages which prevails in the Roman Congregations.

who have not found grace in the sight of the secret committees for religious action, *i.e.* for political reaction. The Abbé Garnier's ignominious accusations against M. Loisy (*see* Introduction, p. 17) have not been enough to win him grace in the sight of the "ultras," and at the time when I write (August 12, 1908) his name has just disappeared from the title-page of the *Peuple Français*.

My forecasts of two years ago are being fulfilled more exactly than I could have wished; the *Revue du Clergé Français* is being furiously attacked—for instance, by Father Portalié (*Etudes* for August 5, 1908). But lo! this poor Jesuit himself feels by no means safe. He guesses that there are *Zelanti* lying in ambush in the shade, ready to jump at his throat. "We are," he declares (p. 351), "passing through a phase of unreasonable distrust on the part of Catholics towards students who wish and are able to combine the faith in its integrity with scientific progress."

The Pope's police has a double likeness to that of the Grand Turk—it is terribly severe and comically incapable. Tyrrell's chief works were translated into French and Italian before any one at the Curia troubled about him. If he had been prudent enough to write only big books of a somewhat forbidding aspect, he would still be in his Jesuit convent, engaged in bringing back Protestants to the lap of Holy Mother Church.

Unfortunately for him he wrote a little pamphlet, the *Letter to a Professor of Anthropology*,* which, in an Italian translation, was spread about in the seminaries over there. It caught the eye of a journalist, who wrote of it, and it was thus that, towards the end of December 1906, the watchful guardians of authority learned of both the existence and the heresies of Father Tyrrell.

You know what followed. For a moment there was cause for fear that, attracted by this discovery, the Holy See would organise a Modernist hunt in England, but it was so much occupied in France and Italy that it prudently forbore. Probably there is only a postponement. Quite lately the offices of the

* "A Much-Abused Letter." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1906.

Curia have been opened—not without a protest from the staff, who have hitherto been Romans exclusively —to one of your fellow-countrymen, the Rev. D. Bidwell. Henceforth there will be a watchman there, with a special eye on your country. Let us hope he will perform his duties well; one always likes people who do their work well. He will have no sinecure. Most English Catholics have no idea what the ecclesiastical police is like when organised as it is in Italy and France. It will be good for them to have a foretaste of it.

Those of you who have travelled in Italy know the *Giornale d'Italia*, the chief Conservative organ in the Peninsula. For some weeks past a large number of the Italian bishops have prohibited it in their dioceses. Any priest who reads it is *ipso facto* suspended; he contracts a stain which renders him unfit to perform any ministerial act. Now what, do you think, was the offence of the *Giornale d'Italia ?* It was that it took its business of supplying information seriously, and thought that, since Modernism existed, as an intellectual, moral and religious current in the country, attention ought to be drawn to it. It was not enough that its columns were

opened liberally to the other side. In the proceedings which ecclesiastical authority is taking against Modernism, the defendant is not allowed to speak.

I do not know what the *Giornale d'Italia* will do in face of this crusade and of the number of people who will be forced to give up their subscriptions. I do not know whether it will follow the example of a Parisian journal, the *Figaro*, which at the beginning of a tragic crisis in French life and politics was clear-sighted enough, but which, alarmed by its rapid loss of subscribers, turned tail. I do know, however, that sooner or later public opinion will rise against a power that calls itself spiritual, and yet has recourse to such means of imposing silence.

A few months ago I was reading in one of your newspapers some letters from fellow-countrymen of yours who, when travelling in Italy last year, had been surprised at the outburst of anti-clericalism which had occurred in most parts of the Peninsula. I have no sort of sympathy with spiteful methods, but do you think these movements could have succeeded if the lower classes had not been profoundly disturbed at the thought of what would happen to a country under such a reign of terror and constraint as

Pius X. dreams of? Anti-clerical barbarism is a very ugly thing, but at least it does not profane the names of God and Christ; and then, too, it does not come into the world spontaneously; it is the legitimate offspring of clerical tyranny. Let those of you who think the words "clerical tyranny" an empty phrase, a bogie to frighten people, read the Encyclical *Pascendi* quietly through to the end, and imagine good, gentle Pius X. putting the finishing touches to the last part—the only part, as we shall see later, at which he really worked.

At the beginning of his pontificate, someone who saw both his personal virtues and his fundamental inability to understand, even vaguely, any new idea, said that this pope might well be the Louis XVI. of the Papacy. The saying has so far proved true. I certainly hope Pius X. will not be martyred, but that is not the point. Through him the old notion of authority, based upon a divine, unverifiable and quite mechanical revelation, is giving way for ever, just as with Louis XVI. the notion of the divine right of kings gave way so completely that not even the princes of the house of Bourbon would now think of reviving it. Among the legitimate representatives

of fallen dynasties there are still some, perhaps, who dream of reascending the throne of their ancestors, but their only hope, you may be sure, is to get themselves recognised by the people.

In 1793 there were many who thought that the end of the kingship was the end of France, the end of national unity. In reality it was only the birth-throes of a new order of things. The king's subjects had become citizens; the unity of the country, far from being broken, was being realised, was gaining a new, profound and living meaning; a great people was becoming conscious of itself and attaining its majority.

Completely analogous is the crisis through which the Church is passing. Among the subjects of the Holy See, as among its enemies, there are many who imagine that the defeat of Pius X. will be the end of all things—the end of faith, the end of unity, the end of all religion—that it will inaugurate the reign of fierce, materialistic anarchy. No doubt there will be much suffering, many tears, unspeakable lacerations, but these wounds will not be unto death. The present crisis will not kill the Church, it will transform her; the Catholic of to-morrow will be no longer a subject but a citizen.

We have travelled far from the English Modernists. I said I would tell you nothing about them. We must leave the trouble of discovering them to the pontifical police, and ere long we shall be free to smile at its clumsiness and its mistakes. I can tell you, however, that the Continental Modernists know how much they owe to their English brethren. How often, in hours of anguish, when the pioneers of the new ideas in Italy and France have been subjected to the pesterings and subtle persecutions of an authority which thinks all things permitted to it because it sincerely believes itself to be carrying out God's commands—how often, I say, has the cheering voice of some English friend come to encourage them, to make them feel once more that no power in the world can separate them from the Church of Christ! From that Church many will be excommunicated who say "Lord, Lord," many who prophesy, many who work miracles, many who exercise authority; in it will be seated many poor men, many excommunicated ones—people from the east and the west and the north and the south whom no one looked to see.

May my greetings, and the thanks of those whose mouths are closed, reach all the brave folk, scattered

over the soil of Great Britain, who have sought at critical moments to send words of life and love and light to hearts in distress! The near future will show them that they have not worked in vain.

I will not speak about the German Modernists either, because at the moment when the Encyclical was penned there was no Modernism in Germany. I mean to say that Pius X. had no idea that it could exist there. It seemed to him that this "pest"—the word is not mine, but his—could only exist in countries poisoned by the Declaration of the Rights of Man. With what pious emotion did he not speak of Germany and repeat the words: *Germania doceat!* He did not indeed actually talk of "Holy Prussia," but, when speaking of the Centre,* his voice grew soft and affectionate, and, speaking of William II., he said: "Our holy Emperor of Germany." Certainly he is ready enough to canonise when crowned heads are concerned.

Who knows what dreams haunted his imagination when obliging courtiers suggested visions of William II. taking vengeance on France for her insults to the

* The Catholic party in German politics.—(TRANSLATOR.)

Holy See, and of the country of Luther restoring the principle of authority in all its fulness! If he had apocalyptic visions of this kind his awakening must have been singularly bitter. In most of the German universities the last pontifical manifestoes have produced a scandal. Professors of high rank and distinguished titles have spoken out, with cutting satire or crushing force.

One of them, Mgr. Ehrhard, Domestic Prelate to His Holiness and Professor Ordinarius in the University of Strassburg, where he holds the Catholic chair of Church History, has published in the *Internationale Wochenschrift* a much-discussed article, expressing his opinion not only of the Encyclical but of the orientation which authority is trying to give to the Church. He recognises in the *Risposta dei Modernisti*—a reply to the Encyclical by a number of Italian Modernists—" an event which, not excepting the Jansenist troubles, is without a parallel in the whole history of modern Catholicism." *

A few days later he published a note which seems to

* *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, January 18, 1908. "We are in danger," he wrote, "of seeing every door opened to arbitrary decisions. . . . We are placed in such a position as to be unable to refute effectively the objection

be modelled upon the reply which Loisy, when called upon to renounce his errors, sent to the Archbishop

raised by our colleagues in the Universities, namely, that the Encyclical prohibits all historical and critical methods.

"How shall we be able to justify to our colleagues measures so incompatible with the very idea of an University professorship, with the moral conscience and personal dignity of professors and students, measures whose tendency will be to promote delation among students, and which put professors of theology under the intellectual guardianship of their pupils?

"If the Encyclical had distinguished between the syntheses of modern philosophy and the 'methods' (*Wege*) of that philosophy, it would not have put us into this false and compromising position. Since these methods are not the creation of a few individual thinkers, but the natural outcome of the whole previous development of the human mind, theology cannot reject them without committing a sin against the Holy Spirit. For, as we must never weary of proclaiming, scholastic philosophy and theology have not settled every question; scholasticism, like Gothic art, is the product *of an epoch*. Doubtless the theological systematisation of that epoch marks a conquest within the Christian Church, but it must be added that it no more exhausted the content of dogmatic tradition than it created it.

"An ostrich-like policy in theology does not and cannot abolish the fact that, even for the Catholic theologian, there is a Biblical question, a question of apologetics, a question about the history of dogmas, and that each of these gives rise to a number of others.

"How can these questions—which call imperiously for a solution—find that solution in the philosophy and theology of an epoch in which they had not arisen? It may also be said that the great scholastic system of St Thomas could never have been formed if there had been then, as there is to-day, a council of vigilance in every diocese.

"And now, what is the true cause of the existing crisis, a crisis which has not been created, but merely revealed to the world by recent events, and which may be called a *Kulturkampf* in the very bosom of the Catholic Church?"

of Paris. In it he tells of his astonishment at the commotion raised by his article, of his regret that erroneous ideas have been attributed to him, and lastly, of his firm intention to remain in the Church's communion. How comes it that this declaration which, when made by Loisy, was regarded as quite insufficient and even contumacious, has, now that it comes from the pen of Mgr. Ehrhard, been loudly announced as a retractation? Has Rome two different systems of weights and measures, or does ecclesiastical authority already perceive the necessity for using its repressive methods with a little discretion?

Dr Schnitzer, Catholic Professor Ordinarius of the History of Dogma in the University of Munich, has spoken even more sharply than Mgr. Ehrhard. Listen to this passage:

"The condemnation of Modernism could only cause surprise in circles where people do not, or will not, know the Roman Curia. Not only optimistic Catholics of the stamp of Schell, but many Protestants also, love to depict an ideal Rome, entrusted with a sublime mission of higher culture, an incomparable shelter of thought and Christian life and brotherly love. They extol her enthusiastically.

Then, all at once, they run up against the Rome of the Encyclical, and are profoundly miserable at finding her so different from the Rome they have dreamt of in their lonely studies."

Further on he writes:

"The aim of the University is to study and to teach men to study. The aim of the Church is to hand on a tradition, to repeat what she has learned. The *Summa* of St Thomas is a sublime work which can never be equalled, much less surpassed; and no new books, no new treatises upon, or researches into theological questions, however learned they may be, can ever do more than repeat what St Thomas has already said much better long ago. . . . All that is good in our modern books is not new, and what is new is not good." *

* *Internationale Wochenschrift*, February 1, 1908. These events have been much talked of in all the German Universities, and in spite of the efforts of the Munich Apostolic Nuncio and the Berlin Government, it may be predicted that the movement will not be stayed in its course. Not only are the writings of German Modernists read with avidity, but foreign Modernist books are being translated with remarkable keenness. The firm of Diederichs at Jena has just published a whole series of volumes, the first being the *Programme of the Italian Modernists*, and the second the *Reply of the French Modernists to Pius X.*

It is impossible to relate here in detail the affair of the German League against the Index. This episode is by no means closed.

Dr Schnitzer has published neither retraction nor declaration. In order to show him, perhaps, that Rome is not embarrassed by what he has said about the servitude of the bishops, Pius X. has gone over the head of the Archbishop of Munich, suspended Dr Schnitzer *a divinis*, and forbidden him the sacraments.

You see how the new movement is growing and

Here in a few lines is what happened. The famous *Corrispondenza Romana*, which had only been in existence six weeks, published on July 7, 1907, a number of unusually large dimensions (24 pp.) entitled *Una Lega Segreta Internazionale contro l'Indice e per la Cultura. Rivelazioni Documentate.* On that day people were astonished to see that that mysterious agency, the *Corrispondenza*, which no one had hitherto taken seriously, was able, when occasion demanded, to draw upon the Vatican's most secret *dossiers*. The most distinguished of German Catholics, and, most important of all, Baron von Hertling, were mentioned as being implicated in a vast secret society with ramifications all over the world. The documents reproduced were accompanied by misleading notes intended to give a wrong idea of their meaning.

This publication produced a sort of stupor among the *élite* of Catholic Germany, which was still further increased during the next few days (especially on July 16), when the publication of *Two Secret Protocols of the Episcopal Court at Würzburg—Revelations Supported by Documents*, made things look very much as if the *Corrispondenza Romana* had its offices in the room of His Holiness's Cardinal Secretary of State.

The alleged Münster conspirators have never been anything but open, and as a reply to all the attacks made on them, they have just published a handsome volume, filled with documentary evidence, and entitled *Indexbewegung und Kulturgesellschaft* (Bonn, 1908. 208+x pp.), by Dr A. ten Hompel, in collaboration with Justizrath H. Hellraeth and Professor J. Plassmann, all of Münster.

spreading its branches everywhere. Faithful Belgium is very far from having escaped it, and devout Switzerland has welcomed Modernist ideas with her usual hospitality. Spain has hardly troubled the Holy See, no more has Portugal, and yet in Lisbon alone there are at least three priests imbued with the new ideas.

I cannot then think of introducing you to all the men who have ploughed so deeply in the field of religion. What I can do is to imagine myself in Rome, follow the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiff, and show you rapidly against whom in particular he has thought fit to proceed with such severity.

A few preliminary remarks are indispensable. At the Vatican a distinction must be made between the Pope and the central government of the Church. The latter may be called Offices of the Curia or Sacred Roman Congregations—whatever the name may be it denotes the exceedingly complicated machinery of the centralised government in Rome. The popes change, the offices remain, and it is the latter practically which insure the continuity of effort that is so striking in the Roman Church. The Pope, omnipotent though he be, is limited on every side by the bureau-

cracy which in theory does nothing but transmit his utterances.

Pius X. is perhaps the most obstinate pope, the least capable of being influenced, that Rome has known for a century. He performs his office as infallible pope with a sincerity, a simplicity and a conviction which have something touching about them, and make him personally a very sympathetic figure. If he feels his weakness, he is, one might say, reassured by that weakness, by his conviction that in him God has chosen the most imperfect of instruments in order to manifest His power and make His glory shine forth. He puts himself, therefore, in God's hands, without perceiving that he is taking for divine inspiration the purely personal and individual views which come from his complete seclusion, intellectual, political, moral and religious. Never perhaps has there been seen in so lofty a position a like absence of all hesitation, a mind so completely impervious. It is not easy to picture a mentality of this sort in our age, when one sees so many men who are without character and consistency, who have no personality. Pius X. has none either, but he has filled up the void, once for

all, by a complete acceptance of the purely mechanical and external teaching which he received at the seminaries of Castelfranco and Treviso.

He was too timid to cast his eyes beyond the walls of these institutions for narrowing the intellect, and since then he has been too upright to succumb to the disease which makes a section of the Italian clergy so repugnant—to treat the ecclesiastical vocation as a career and to fall into scepticism.

I tell you all this in answer to the question so often asked as to the influences which are acting on the Pope. It is difficult to persuade people that he is not led by the Jesuits, for instance. Undoubtedly a certain number of members of the famous Society have access to his presence at stated times, but one might say as much of various Capuchins, who are certainly not the natural or traditional friends of the Jesuits. One might say as much of sundry Assumptionists, or even of sundry Benedictines, and above all of a group of Monsignori and secular priests of a hardly credible type, into whose past Pius X. has forgotten to inquire, to whom he has entrusted the whole management of the ecclesiastical police, and who henceforth consider themselves—rightly, no

doubt—to be the most important instrument of authority and unity. Officially they do not form part of any of the Sacred Congregations, but they see to their supplies and set them all in motion. They are nothing, and yet everything. It is not then because Father Billot is a Jesuit, or Father Pie de Langogne and Cardinal Vivès are Capuchins, that they are in special favour with the Pope; he has chosen them because he has found in them men with the same desires and the same ideals as his own.

I do not by this mean in the very least to deny the great influence of certain orders and certain persons; I am merely showing you how Pius X. can testify to himself that he is not being led, but, on the contrary, directing everything. At the present moment the bishops are as if they were not, and even the part played by the cardinals is becoming more and more unimportant. Nevertheless, the weight of tradition acts upon the Pontiff, and even goes so far as to transform the pontifical documents, or, at any rate, give them a very different character from what they would have if Pius X. were their sole author.

The Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* is something like a lake through which a river flows. With-

out any special effort of the eye the river water can be distinguished, and, though one may not be able to separate it sharply from that of the lake, it is still possible not to confuse the two. Do not think I am giving myself up to risky and subjective criticism. Roman Catholic papers of the most authoritative, conservative and anti-Modernist type have been good enough to make a remark which I had already made myself, but which I was very glad to have confirmed by them. They have seen that the third and last part, dealing with the ways and means to check Modernism, and with the punishments to be inflicted on the guilty, is the part which evidently comes most directly from Pius X.

So then, by the very admission of the anti-Modernist press, the Encyclical is not homogeneous; it is like an edifice which at a distance has a perfect unity, but at close quarters shows itself to have been built by several architects. Now it is the last pages of the Bull, those which have made the students of the Germanic College at Rome christen it *l'encyclica ferox*, that are most particularly the work of Pius X., the good, the gentle, the humble. The implied contradiction is entirely on the surface; those who

have lived in contact with the men of the Middle Ages, and know how calmly an inquisitor, who in his cell was as one of God's own lambs, could turn into a pitiless executioner when sitting as a member of the terrible tribunal, will easily understand these apparent anomalies.

Please do not mistake my present intention; I am no special pleader. I am not putting myself at the point of view of that group of the faithful —it is, in truth, a very small one—who, every time Pius X. speaks, exhaust themselves in their search for new formulas of submission,* and make the

* "Pius X.," said the *Croix*, in its leading article on September 17, 1907, "seems to us to resemble to-day, in some fashion, the radiant Christ in Raphael's immortal 'Transfiguration' in the Vatican. High above the thick cloud in which the world's conflict goes on, he sheds on the Church the marvellous radiance of supernatural light." The Abbé Delfour described the Encyclical as "prodigious," and M. Dimier declared that it made one's heart leap with enthusiasm.

On September 19 the *Croix* again devoted its first article to the Encyclical, and ended with these words: "Thanks to God, thanks to the Pope, there has been more light in the intellectual and spiritual world since the 8th of September." A month later (October 19) its contributor, M. Cyr, defined the Encyclical as "a new ray added to the sun of truth which enlightens the Catholic world."

On October 25 the *Armonie della Fede* gave the note for the official effusions in a phrase which made an excellent watchword, and was soon echoed by all the clerical press of Italy: "*I Modernisti non sono più*"—"The Modernists are no more."

We have not had to wait long to see how much these fireworks

Bark of Peter seem less like a vessel in which one's chief thought is of hard work, than like a gondola which is always gliding through the same water, and round which a few singers perform their evolutions, with a show of Venetian lanterns and an accompaniment of mandolines. Nor am I putting myself at the opposite point of view—the point of view of certain Catholics who, every time Pius X. speaks, split hairs and quibble and ask themselves whether the Pope has spoken *ex cathedra* or not—whether he has spoken as a man or as an infallible teacher. I quite understand this attitude and how much piety towards the Church it reveals. I merely say that we will not adopt it. We will take up a strictly historical point of view from which to study the origin of the famous Encyclical.

To anyone who knows the Pope and his lack of

and illuminations were worth, or with how much sincerity they were engaged in. I give further on an extract from the same *Armonie della Fede*, admitting, on November 10, the tragic isolation of Pius X., abandoned by his troops, who no longer understand his orders, or perhaps do not wish to understand them (*see* below, p. 145). Quite lately, too, one of the most prominent Jesuits, Père Portalié, admitted "the impression of alarm, of suspicion, of confusion which showed itself in Catholic circles after the publication of the Encyclical." (*Etudes Religieuses* [*des Pères de la cie. de Jesus*], August 5, 1908, p. 350.)

culture and his ignorance as regards the present movement of ideas in the very bosom of Catholicism, it is quite plain that he is not the author of the exposition of Modernism which forms two-thirds of the Encyclical. The picture is biassed, partisan, one-sided, cruel, but it presupposes an amount of reading which the successor of St Peter has certainly never accomplished.*

Let me say once more, we are not concerned with a legal question—whether by giving these pages his

* The papers most bound, I will not say to the Holy See but to the present tendency of the Holy See, fully realised that it was impossible to attribute the paternity of the document purely and simply to Pius X. They therefore admitted provisionally that it was the result of collaboration. Soon, however, legend resumed its rights, and the story of the marvellous origin of the Encyclical took shape.

It is interesting to follow this double current in the same papers. If, for instance, you take up the Paris *Croix*—which welcomed the Bull more warmly than any other newspaper in Europe—you will see that in its issue for November 14 it reproduces without hesitation the *Momento's* information that "the pontifical document is due almost entirely to the thought and the pen of Mgr. Sardi, Secretary of the Briefs," and in its issue for November 21 it relates in a long article how the Encyclical was composed.

Nevertheless M. Cyr, one of its chief contributors, speaking at the Congress of the "*bonne presse*," began his account with the following words: "A few weeks ago the whole Christian world was profoundly moved by a solemn event. In the depths of the residence where he is kept a prisoner by the most nefarious *combinazione* of modern times, an old man knelt before his bronze crucifix for long hours of prayer and meditation; then, after having put himself in God's hands, *in Domino*,

authority he has made them his own; we are engaged in a historical inquiry. Its importance is that it will lead us to see how the Modernists aimed at in the first part of the Encyclical are not those at whom Pius X. would have aimed.

For him the prince of Modernism is the Abbé Murri, the celebrated leader of the Christian Democratic movement in Italy. The Encyclical, on the other hand, is aimed chiefly and in the first place at the Abbé Loisy.

The latter is certainly not unknown to the Pope; it was even said, a few years ago, that the Pope was having the most important pages of *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* translated and read to him; but the Abbé Loisy has never come before him except in the distant half-light in which seminarists view all the heretics — Arius, Eutyches, Nestorius, all those monsters of pride whom the Church has struck with

he wrote a few pages in Latin, which in twenty-four hours were carried by electricity and steam to every corner of the civilised world."

Would it not be indiscreet, after words of such ardent admiration, to sound a calmer note and speak of the Encyclical from the point of view of literary form? The Pope's infallibility has never been said to cover the language of his Bulls; that is just as well, for it would be decidedly compromised this time. The official translations are by no means faithful, and in the French translation, for instance, the style is not only odd, but full of faulty renderings.

her thunder, and whose remains she preserves carefully in the glass bottles of her museum of horrors for the instruction of future generations.

The Abbé Murri, on the other hand, is a rebel in flesh and blood with whom he has measured swords and been wounded to the quick, by whose piercing gaze he feels himself followed, and with whom he must wage a duel to the death, so to speak.* The readers of the Encyclical *Pascendi* have been astonished at its violence, but it would have been far more violent still, had it been entirely drawn up by the Pope. You have just seen, in fact, that the harshest part is that which had the Pope for its author. But there is more to be said; the first part, drawn up by the Pope, is extant. He was so anxious to be understood that he wrote it in Italian, and its name is the Encyclical *Pieni l'Animo* of July 28, 1906. Put it at the head of the third part of the Bull

* I here allude to a fact which belongs to the time when the future Pius X. was still Patriarch of Venice. He thought it his duty to forbid the priests of his diocese to read the Abbé Murri's newspapers, and he added to the prohibition the basest insinuations as to the personal character of the democratic priest. The latter was at the time the guest of Cardinal Manara, Archbishop of Ancona, whose advice he asked. He then wrote the Patriarch of Venice an intensely indignant letter, dated from the archiepiscopal palace at Ancona. To-day Pius X. is avenging Cardinal Sarto.

Pascendi, and you will see that they are one in their inspiration and also in their wrath.

Pieni l'Animo is directed entirely against the Abbé Murri and his accomplices. He is not mentioned by name, for fear of too startling a violation of tradition, but a finger is pointed at him. He is the man who inhabits that house down there at Torrette.*

The encyclicals both deserve the name of *encyclica ferox*, but the fiercer of the two is *Pieni l'Animo*. In the Bull *Pascendi* the authors have been forced to recognise that the Modernists commend themselves by their virtues. (If this is not exactly reckoned to them as a crime they are at least reproached with it as an inconsistency.) Pius X., however, sees things very differently. The partisan of the new ideas is by definition a maleficent being who has every fault and every vice.

"A poisoned atmosphere," he says, "is largely corrupting men's minds in our time, and its deadly effects are those which St Jude the Apostle has

* A little place on the Adriatic coast between Ancona and Falconara, where the celebrated Abbé was then residing. At the command of Pius X. he has now returned to his original diocese (Fermo), where he lives in retirement with his uncle, the parish priest of Gualdo di Macerata. This place is seven hours distant by diligence from Tolentino Station (in the Marches).

already described: 'These men, indeed, defile their flesh, despise dominions, and speak evil of dignities.'* Besides the most degrading corruption of morals they have an open scorn for all authority and for those who exercise it."

Such are the terrible words which Pius X. has dared to apply to a generation of young Italian priests with whom he ought to be acquainted.

The originality of Murri and the Lega Democratica Nazionale is that they have aimed straight at a double renovation: a political renovation and a moral and religious one. Having themselves come, by the way of democratic ideas, to be no longer afraid of the people, and then to be no longer afraid of science, they have founded numerous groups all over Italy, directed more or less openly by the most devoted section of the clergy, and several of the bishops regard them with sympathy. A fact which has passed unnoticed, but is none the less important, is that the Lega Democratica Nazionale, which until now has been essentially a men's movement, has had

* *Hi carnem quidem maculant, dominationem autem spernunt, majestatem autem blasphemant.*—Jude 8.

so deep an influence that the women have desired to take part in it. "Women's Sections" have been founded in various regions—a thing no one would have thought of a few years ago—and these have sprung up quite naturally.* This development, quite unforeseen and unplanned, is very significant when one thinks of the state of effacement in which women are kept by tradition in Italy.†

Another group which maintains the most cordial relations with the Lega Democratica Nazionale is that of the young men in Milan who bring out the *Rinnovamento*, a Review which was founded a little more than a year ago and keeps up a high standard of

* From the 24th to the 30th of April 1908 there was held in Rome the "First Congress of the Women of Italy," which was much talked of all over the Peninsula. On the other hand, it must be said that foreign countries (or their Press at any rate) have not fully appreciated the importance of these meetings for discussion. Their importance comes, in the first place, from the fact that women of all classes of society met together with a desire for work and effort and progress in common. The most opposite tendencies of thought were represented; and, thanks to mutual goodwill on all sides, the discussions were serious and fruitful, without anyone being obliged to sacrifice aught of her convictions. The part played in this important gathering by the members and friends of the Lega Democratica Nazionale was one of the causes of its success.

† The women's groups have as their centre a *Segretariato Femminile* at 37 Via della Zecca, Turin, under the direction of Signora Luisa Giulio-Benso.

excellence, even as compared with the four or five most important periodicals in Europe from the intellectual point of view.

It is difficult for foreigners to form a full idea of the deep influence of Murri and his disciples, because their activities are scattered over a wide area and show themselves in a number of publications and lectures and efforts of very various kinds, and these have not so much one centre as several. The Milanese group, on the other hand, while it has friends and ramifications in every country, has far more unity. It has had the good fortune and the enviable distinction of having for its godfather Antonio Fogazzaro. The godchild, as you have already seen, is proving itself worthy of such a godfather. I do not think I shall be wrong in going further and saying that the founding of the *Rinnovamento,* and the formation of an intelligent and sympathetic public for it, is a very cheering sign of the intellectual and moral vitality of Italy. I should not like to disturb the modesty of these young men, but I do not see why I should not confess that I feel more than sympathy for them, that I feel respect and admiration. To see a number of men definitely form

themselves into a group, after long years of calm preparation by intellectual effort and that other kind of effort which is called prayer, after having listened to all the voices that have been calling their country to a new and more virile life—voices of bishops, voices of philosophers and poets and *savants*, voices of reforming monks, and also voices from the people, in revolt against clerical materialism and the unspeakable poverty of *doctrinaire* anti-clericalism; to see these men, after spending the novitiate of their apostleship in the midst of the world's life, come forth before their countrymen, deaf to the anathemas of the right and the raillery of the left, is a spectacle which would have real beauty anywhere, but which when it occurs in a Latin country becomes a notable event.*

Ecclesiastical authority has taken proceedings against them, and we have had another very suggestive spectacle. These men, if they had sinned against morality and degraded their youth with vice, could have gained the fullest absolution. Having committed the crime of wishing to work hard and honestly tell their wants and preoccupations to him who calls

* *Il Rinnovamento*, 15 Via Bigli, Milan. The subscription rate is 16 francs a year. The numbers appear bi-monthly, and contain 200 pages.

himself father *par excellence*, and to open their souls to him, they have been not only refused a hearing, but cynically excommunicated.

The decree issued against them gives one reason only: they are accused of having behaved as though they were Doctors of the Church, of having been so intolerably conceited as to try to teach their masters. Had they done so the harm would not perhaps have been very great, and I know parents who do not throw their children out of window every time they think they know better than father and mother. But this is a question of facts. All the numbers of the *Rinnovamento* are on sale and can be bought. I do not think you will find in any of the articles the intolerable conceit which has so raised the ire of the Holy See.

The *Rinnovamento* group is composed essentially of laymen; on the other hand, the group in Rome which inspires *Nova et Vetera*, a monthly publication started after the Encyclical—this proves that the latter has killed nothing and stopped nothing—is composed chiefly of ecclesiastics.* Though prohibited

* *Nova et Vetera*, a fortnightly review. 13 fr. 50 a year. Offices: 10 Via della Scrofa, Rome. Any work relating to the Modernist movement in Italy may be obtained by application to the manager.

under the severest penalties by the Cardinal Vicar, this Review continues to appear, and has just devoted a whole number to a study and analysis of the Abbé Loisy's latest works. It is issued by the Società Internazionale Scientifico-Religiosa, which had already published the Reply of the Modernists, recently translated into English.* Many of you will have read this work, with the important preface by the Rev. A. L. Lilley, and, guided by the sympathetic vicar of St Mary's, Paddington, will have

He will send free of charge, if requested, the regulations of the Società Internazionale Scientifico-Religiosa.

In the first column of the *Croix* for September 17, 1907, the following appeared in heavy type: "The Encyclical on the errors of the Modernists is announced and summarised by the whole Press. Among the Catholic papers there is no discordant note. The ardour with which the most decidedly anti-clerical papers take the part of the Modernists against the Pope is a fresh condemnation of the Modernists in the eyes of Catholics."

In these lines the famous journal merely showed its ardent desire that affairs should take this course; as a matter of fact things were quite otherwise, and among those who were sincere in applauding the Bull the mouthpiece of the Vatican might have distinguished two clearly marked groups—the clerical politicians and the militant anti-clericals.

* *Il Programma dei Modernisti. Risposta all' Encyclica di Pio X.* Pascendi Dominici Gregis. Rome, 1908. 238 pp. *The Programme of Modernism*, translated by Father Tyrrell, with an Introduction by A. L. Lilley, Vicar of St Mary's, Paddington Green. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 290+xxiv pp.

been able to see its exceptional value. A material detail, the mention of which has been omitted, I believe, in the English edition, but which is valuable as a sign of the awakening of interest in religious questions in Italy, is that the *Risposta dei Modernisti*, an anonymous work and therefore without any name to recommend it to the crowd, a work which not only requires serious study, but is in parts difficult reading, was sold out in a fortnight.

What I have been telling you will by no means give you an idea of the full extent of the Modernist movement in Italy; to do that I should have to call your attention to a whole crowd of other publications, which are in different degrees the outcome of the new orientation—the *Vita Religiosa*, the *Rassegna Nazionale*, the *Pagine Buone*, the *Savonarola*, the *Battaglie d'Oggi*, the *Libertà*—I give their names haphazard, and of course without the least attempt at classification.

These are the men and the publications that are the first objects of Pius X.'s pursuit. Don Romolo Murri seems to him more culpable and more formidable than Loisy, Tyrrell and the rest, not only because

he knows him, but because Murri is guilty of a heresy worse than all others, the heresy of not worshipping the present political and social order like a fetish.*

It is the same with the young men in Milan. He knows them. First as bishop, then as patriarch, he distributed to them medals, sweetmeats, benedictions, all those little favours which Italian clergy bestow so willingly and so lavishly. When he was made Pope he hoped to see them become good, obedient little boys, who would ask the Church to support the existing social order and would do her homage in return.

Thus the resistance he has met with seems to him not merely an ecclesiastical but a political matter, and this makes him still more anxious. He sees every foundation overturned, every authority despised, and it is for this reason that he, the Pontiff of the Roman Church, has quite naturally found a

* The condemnation of the Abbé Dabry and the Abbé Naudet, who were ordered, by a decree of the Inquisition, dated February 13, 1908, to cease forthwith the publication of the *Vie Catholique* and the *Justice Sociale*, made a profound impression in France. It was indeed a startling proof—since the two priests had never concerned themselves with questions of dogma and were supported by their bishops, who vouched for their orthodoxy—that henceforth Rome considered Leo XIII.'s efforts a mistake, and would no longer permit her priests to be anti-Conservatives in politics.

friend and ally in that Lutheran Protestant, His Majesty the Emperor William II.

However much the theologians whom the Pope gathered round him to draw up the condemnation of Modernism, might desire to enter into his ideas, they could not attain to such a degree of ineffable simplicity. Though quite as little disposed as he was to favour democracy and the rights of man, they had had too much theological training not to see that the real question lay on a higher plane.

Besides, most of these theologians were not Italians; neither Father Billot, nor Father Jansens, nor Father Wrenz, nor Father Fleming, nor Father Pie de Langogne are of that race. They had probably no inclination to plunge into the reading of the innumerable productions of Murri, who seemed to them a popular champion rather than a real theologian. The large place occupied by Murri in the Pope's thoughts appeared to them a sort of optical illusion. There were even some who felt a little out of humour. Custom had made them tolerate an Italian Pope, but that the leader of the Modernist heresy should be an Italian was disagreeable to them. That was too great an honour for Italy!

If they did not know Murri they knew Loisy thoroughly. The word "know" is here a way of speaking; I mean that they had read and re-read his two little books, and had felt themselves face to face with a singularly formidable antagonist. Thus it is that the place occupied by Murri in the Encyclical *Pieni l'Animo* is occupied by Loisy in the Encyclical *Pascendi* and the Syllabus *Lamentabili*.

You now see how the most absolute power there has ever been on earth, at the very moment when it is exercised by a Pontiff who believes in his own infallibility without a shade of hesitation, is dependent on invisible and irresponsible collaborators. The Pope has the fullest power, but his freedom is quite limited, and you have just seen some of the influences which have in fact suppressed this freedom in the case of one of his most solemn acts.

It has been calculated that, of the sixty-five propositions condemned by the Syllabus, Loisy has furnished nearly fifty. The space he occupies in the Encyclical is hardly less. Together with him a certain number of other Modernists have been aimed at in a haphazard way, either because the editors were ashamed to be so little in the swim of the movement

as a whole, or because they wanted to have the pleasure of warning such and such a one that thenceforward the avenging eye of authority would be upon him.

In the Bull *Pieni l'Animo*, as in the Syllabus *Lamentabili* and the Encyclical *Pascendi*, the men aimed at represent principles, and what comes out everywhere is the conflict between Religion and Science. Pius X., himself committing the sin with which he reproaches his victims so bitterly, starts from the *a priori* assumption that Science ought to be the handmaid of Faith. The Modernists have no thought either of maintaining this thesis or of defending its opposite. They observe the facts, and very soon perceive that in the Middle Ages Religion protected, sheltered and saved Science. During that period the Church very naturally took up an attitude of command towards the guest whom she harboured. Later on, however, Science, after having long shown all the gratitude she owed, after having made herself small and humble before her hostess, and rendered her all the services in her power, became gradually aware of a change in her sentiments. Having grown strong and robust, she

became conscious that thoughts of independence were springing up in her heart.

Relations of this kind, lasting for centuries, leave traces which cannot be removed in one generation. The day has come when full explanations are demanded. The Church has reproached Science with ingratitude, and then offered to take her back into favour on condition that she should return to the old relations which made the one a benefactress and put the other under an obligation. Science has refused to listen to such language. She is even inclined to think that the services rendered her in the old days were not altogether disinterested.

That is how matters stand, and at the present moment the crisis is at an acute stage. But, as the Italian proverb says, "Time is a good fellow." The Modernists have arrived, and I believe they are going to arrange everything. See what will happen, what is already a preparing. Science is not an entity; she is represented by men, men who are often very young and perhaps have not always shown the Church the attentions and devotion which her clergy love so well. But they are decent folk and very good-hearted at bottom. Unless I am very much mistaken

they are about to render distinguished service to the Church and to prove their gratitude to her. In the Middle Ages the Church saved Science; in the twentieth century Science will save the Church.

What else, indeed, are all the new movements of thought and study in relation to religious questions, the chairs of religious history which are being founded on all sides, but an explicit acknowledgment of the importance of religious phenomena? How can Churches which feel themselves founded on a rock find any cause for trembling? How can they fail to see the opportunity that is offered them to show before all men their titles to nobility?

I am well aware that people say that the study of religious history is conducted in a spirit of opposition to the Church. What does that matter? Can all the effort in the world succeed in suppressing anything that exists? Let us admit the justice of the complaint, the result will be all the more striking. Some representatives of the Churches cry out that Faith is on her trial; but ought not Faith to be glad? Even if she were offered the choice of her judges would she not refuse and say: " I am sure of myself. What have I to fear? "

It is possible that a few misguided folk may occasionally have sought out some master of science and whispered in his ear, "Come, curse me this people!" But even if there were any *savants* so devoid of the scientific spirit as to start out with such intentions, could men who really believe be troubled or afraid? Have they not read those pages in the Holy Book which tell how Balak sought to suborn Balaam: "Come, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed."

But when Balaam has come to the hill-top he cannot curse him whom the Lord hath blessed, and a power he knows not puts blessings on his lips:

> "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
> And thy tabernacles, O Israel!
> As the valleys are they spread forth,
> As gardens by the river's side!"
>
> NUMBERS xxiv. 5, 6.

III

In the foregoing lectures I have tried to show you that the new orientation is in no way destructive, but that, abandoning the purely metaphysical point of view and the dialectic method which has hitherto been followed by all the theologies and all the anti-theologies, it thereby transforms our intellectual, religious and moral activity.

Take, for example, the question of questions, that of authority. You know that the philosophy of the Middle Ages reasoned pretty much as follows: In order to have the right to command and be obeyed it is necessary to be the supreme truth: therefore the Church, since she commands, is the supreme truth.

The Reformers came, and, without letting themselves be stopped by the perfectly clear fact that the Church existed before the Bible, and not the reverse, they set up the authority of the Bible against that of the Church, and almost immediately were

followed by pure rationalism, which, still starting from the same premises, set up human reason against both the Church and the Bible.

The mediæval philosopher has not the least suspicion that the Church is a living organism; the Protestant is driven to desperate expedients because he does not see that the unity of the Bible is a unity not of substance and essence, but of development and life; the rationalist is obliged to speak as if the reason of a cannibal and the reason of his fellow-countrymen were one and the same. These three systems are equally erroneous because they are contradicted by the facts.

It is not the capricious thought of one man or one period which has given them birth and caused them to endure; it is that they were necessary at a particular moment. They are, so to speak, shelters, at once indispensable and provisional, which mankind in its march towards the heights has been forced to build for itself, for refuge and self-recollection and renewal of strength.

The vast majority of men are obliged to confound law with a code. They cannot, if they are to reverence it, bring themselves to the idea of a law

which is not absolute, but advances by slow and painful steps. At a low stage of development men are obedient only to force, but little by little behind brute force there opens out the idea of moral force; the tyrant himself puts his tyranny under the protection of a power greater than himself; it is by God that he has been invested with authority. Mankind does not stop there, however, and gradually the time comes when, in order to reverence the law, it has no need to believe it to have descended from Sinai, and when the law binds us, even where it cannot compel, simply because it answers to our best selves.

Who can deny that these are three stages through which mankind has really passed, through which each of us must in some fashion pass in the course of his life!

We are met by authority at our birth, in our cradle. Hardly have we stammered out our first words when already it no longer forces itself upon us, but seeks to win our assent, becomes affectionately persuasive, and desires rather to call forth an echo in our childish conscience than to make itself feared and obtain definite results.

A child is not a machine designed to perform

this or that action, he is a soul, an individuality; the purpose of education is not to make him give forth our note, but his own; not to make him repeat eternally the same words, but to provide him with an inheritance which he will increase; to guide him into a path along which we shall keep him company for a few days or a few hours more, and along which he will then speed in his turn, ever further, ever higher.

Whence comes this authority? Is it absolute? Is it transcendent? All these are questions which used to be raised once, but which nobody thinks about now. Formerly authority gave a father power of life and death over his children. To-day this seems to us monstrous; and what was provided for by law a few centuries ago would now be the most abominable of crimes. Yet there has been no revolution: our civilisation is still in great measure founded on Roman law. There has been an evolution, and, mark you well, morals have been in advance of laws. To-day parents understand quite clearly that they exist for their children, and not their children for them. That insignificant little being is not yours, you are his.

Just so is it with religious authority. It takes us

at our cradle, and calls us its children, and such we are in reality, since we owe to it the language by which we express our deepest emotions and our highest aspirations; but this language is not an end, it is only a means, an instrument, a " making ready," to use a printer's term.

The Church is not the end, she is the mother, the educator—a mother who is the more worthy of our love the more she forgets herself. She rejoices to see her children bear her name and take after her. She rejoices above all to learn that they have discovered horizons which she had not so much as suspected.

Such is, if I am not mistaken, the point of view of Modernism as regards authority. The disputes between Protestants and Catholics who set up the Bible against the Church, or the Church against the Bible, have merely a historical interest for it. They seem to it as strange as the conduct of a son who should set up his father's authority against his mother's; Modernism accepts both, together, conjointly, in a spirit of liberty and life. Far from abolishing them, it makes them more inward things.

You may think, perhaps, that this is an excel-

lent arrangement in words or on paper, but that in everyday reality domestic authority, like religious authority, is represented by human beings under whose rule life is not so easy as under that of abstractions. I do not deny it; it is obvious that a clear vision of the purpose of education is as rare in the Church as in the family. There are fathers, and even mothers, who are monsters, and sometimes religious authority is represented by incapable or unworthy people, or by old men who do not know what they are doing.

If authority wishes to be respected it must of course show itself worthy of respect, and not make morbid attempts to encroach upon a territory that is not its own. It is not easy to fix limits, but which of you would think it right that a ploughman, whose son had become an engineer, should attempt to guide him in his scientific calculations under the pretext of paternal authority? We have lately been delighted to see the President of the French Republic give the place of honour to his old mother, a humble, white-capped peasant; we have been especially delighted to hear his voice vibrate with love and gratitude and admiration; but what should we have thought if that humble peasant, instead of enjoying all these things

and pondering them in her heart, had forgotten her part as mother and had claimed to give the statesman orders or directions?

Mistakes of this kind have been known to history; she is witnessing one at this moment when she sees the Church forget her part and claim to dictate to her children what they are to think in philosophy, in history, nay, even in natural science.

I shall be told that scientific opinion is a very unsteady, a very changeable thing, subject to a thousand mistakes. Nothing can be truer. A child of fifteen has always much less knowledge than his father, but he has more knowledge and better about certain subjects. Parents of average intelligence feel this; must we think that the Church will not end by understanding it too, that she will choose to go on imposing the foolish decisions of the Roman Congregations, made up of men who think they know without having learnt? The Church has already understood, for we must not let ourselves be deceived by words, which is precisely the mistake I made just now in letting myself be drawn into calling that the Church which is only her government. Pius X., with or without the offices of the Curia, is no more

the Church than Louis XIV. was the State, or than the Clemenceau ministry is France.

The Church in reality is the society formed by those who claim fellowship with the Christ, and, above all, she is the still vaster society of those who, unconsciously and without knowing His blessed name, live in His spirit and continue His work. "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd."

It is not the Church, but the present government of the Church, which has failed so completely to understand the crisis of authority. That government has seen only a revolt which a few violent measures would suffice to stifle in what is the normal, legitimate and inevitable outcome of the evolution of the conscience of our time.

The notion of authority has been transformed in the family; in the school, where the *Magister dixit* has given place to the method which uses traditional ideas to stimulate the individual mind; and in the State, where the subject has become a citizen. It will be transformed in the realm of religion also, and there too it will become a more inward matter. No longer

will there be on one side omniscience and on the other absolute ignorance; on one side tyranny and on the other servitude; there will be on the one side understanding and on the other obedience—the obedience of a being who feels his weakness and his need of guidance, but has already a glimpse of vaster horizons, who hears the mysterious sigh of creation in travail and wishes to do his part as a good husbandman, to give forth his note in the harmony of the worlds.

Let us be patient. What the Church's government does not understand to-day it will understand to-morrow. Neither Pius X., nor Cardinal Merry del Val, nor Mgr. Benigni, nor Their Eminences the Cardinals of the Biblical Commission, who take no account of the labours of the *Consultori*,* are eternal.

* The Pontifical Commission on Biblical Studies, which has recently given such strange judgments in regard to the Pentateuch, the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Isaiah, is made up of Cardinals Rampolla, Satolli, Merry del Val, Segna, and Vives y Tuto. These distinguished personages, who are quite strangers to Biblical studies, are the only members with a voice; their votes alone determined the answers which so much astonished the learned world. There are indeed by their side, or rather below them, fifty *consultori*, who are, in some degree at any rate, conversant with the questions; but no attention is paid to their opinion if it conflicts with the Cardinals' views. The decisions of the Commission are of great importance as a precise indication of the scientific and intellectual level of the Curia Romana.

Do not misunderstand my words; I wish all these personages as long a life as possible, and I should like with all my heart to prostrate myself at their feet and repeat efficaciously the prayer of the old liturgies—*Ad multos annos!* Yes, I wish them a long life; may no obstacle come from without to check the expansion of the system or prevent its fruits from reaching full maturity! The Modernists have no better collaborators.

Martyrs are not made with impunity. The Catholic conscience—not only the conscience of the people but the conscience of the hierarchy—is no longer with the supreme authority. Please understand me. There is no thought of breaking with authority, but people regret its measures, are wounded by them, nay, even scandalised. What must a spiritual authority be when it does not even occur to it that the sword is not enough, that it ought to carry a light in the other hand, were that light but a modest lantern!

What must a spiritual authority be which does not even dream of getting its decrees ratified by the conscience of its members! Hence the immense disaffection which has invaded the Church, and is

acknowledged even in the columns of the journals which most faithfully interpret the Pontiff's ideas. The following, for instance, may be read in the *Armonie della Fede* for November 10, 1907:

"It is an undeniable fact that many, yes, many priests give no heed whatever to Modernism, this synthesis of all the heresies which has penetrated to the very heart of the Church, this latent apostasy which so much preoccupies the mind of Pius X., these errors which have slipped into all branches of ecclesiastical discipline, and go so far as even to undermine the whole system of dogma. It is an undeniable fact that even to-day most of these men stand in front of the Encyclical with an air of astonishment, as though they did not understand it, or as though they were taxing their brains to find in it some idea which would help them to see their position and understand the utility of the document. The result is that the pontifical act loses its efficacy. *The Pope is left almost alone in the battle*, like a general who advances too far ahead against the enemy, and is *abandoned by his men*, who no longer hear his orders, or do not, or *perhaps* will not, understand them."

This state of mind in the flock cannot fail to react upon those who lead it. The day is perhaps not far off when the Catholics of the whole world will feel astonishment that a Church which is universal should be practically ruled by a government exclusively Italian and Roman. Already, on all sides, Catholics who are not even Modernists are raising the question of authority, not in order to repudiate authority but in order to obey it the better. Will they do it an injury by choosing to obey in the light rather than in darkness? by trusting themselves to its guidance, but striving to see whither it is leading them?

At the bottom of Modernism there is, you see, not a more or less studied plan to get rid of excrescences —such as there has been in all attempts at reform— but an effort to arrive at an idea of the Church which shall be closer to life and truer in practice. Among contemporary peoples the idea of the fatherland is growing purer, wider, more intense, more ideal. The same evolution is taking place in the idea of the Church.

For a Modernist, to believe what the Church believes is, indeed, to repeat the old creeds, to join one's voice to the chanting of the community, but it is more

besides; above all, it is to live with the life of the Church—the life of a society which in the midst of time thinks of eternity, which will not let itself be crushed by the cares of the present time, but feels its strength and fecundity. It is neither to despise tradition nor to canonise it; but to draw from it, as a plant draws from a generous soil, elements which seem quite inferior—to assimilate and elaborate them, and bear new fruit. For the Modernist, to be a Catholic is not to have the ideas of one man, of one period, of one school, it is to vibrate in unison with the thought of all the ages, to understand its sequence, its evolution, its stages, its life; to see how paganism was the necessary prelude to the worship of Jehovah, how this was the preface to the visions of the prophets, how the seers of Israel were the forerunners of Him who was meek and lowly in heart, and who left behind Him some of those very ideas which inspire the programme of Modernism—"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

The Gospels have preserved for us another saying of His, which has lain there like a seed that has not

yet germinated—we have not yet realised its full meaning and significance: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." All the religious institutions of the past, that is to say, are good, on condition that we grasp their spirit and direction. They are to be venerated on condition that they be means of expansion, of uplifting, of emancipation, and not cages to imprison us or centres of hatred towards everyone who does not think as we do. The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath; the Church was made for man, and not man for the Church.

"But," say the official theologians, "you insinuate that Christ Himself fell into the heresy of relativism, of evolutionary ideas." I insinuate nothing, I simply affirm that these words are in the Gospels. I affirm that Jesus and His apostles never ceased to frequent the synagogues, and that, when driven out, they returned to them again. Was that an opportunist way of acting, a ruse? Who would dare to fling this insult at them? They had a right to claim that they were more Jewish than the Jews, and to feel, in spite of all appearances, interdicts, excommunications, that they themselves were the

true servants of the Law, the successors of the prophets.

But see, the Holy Office returns with its decree, and the theologians advance, brandishing the Bull. They close round Him who has proclaimed that the Church was made for man: "Master, what thinkest Thou of immanence and transcendence, of the relative and the absolute?" And I seem to behold the Master depart, answering them not, or, it may be, murmuring: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they say."

That feeling of love which gives the Modernist a sense that he is a son of the Church, a servant of authority, and also that he has a son's liberty, guides his whole life, all his work, all his thought. He will study the Bible like a pure *savant*, and he will study it better, even from the scientific point of view, because he regards it as his own book, his family history, the book through which he gradually becomes conscious of himself, of his moral being. It will not even occur to him to be afraid of criticism, for his certainty of the Bible's worth is a fact of experience, beyond and above criticism.

In his study of the Bible he will show himself very

different from the orthodox Protestant who, under a pretext of reverence for the divine book, persuades himself that all its parts are on a level, that all alike are oracles. Not less does he differ from the rationalistic Protestant who takes and leaves, approves and disapproves, without seeing that by thus separating the wood from the bark, what edifies from what gives offence, he ends by making a selection which each newcomer will reduce still further, and which has the fundamental defect of being artificial and lifeless. The Modernist, on the contrary, rises from words to things; to him nothing appears isolated or static; he introduces at all points the idea of solidarity and life.

What the consequences of such a point of view are you can see in relation to dogma. At the opposite pole to that conservatism which regards a dogma as a metaphysical definition, something like the theorems of a sort of religious geometry, Modernism regards it as a kind of organism which is very hard to follow in its beginning and during its period of gestation, something which lives, develops, grows, and throws out branches. At a certain period in its life a dogma may have become so enticing, so much in harmony

with the needs of the time, so noble and so fruitful, that men have forgotten its humble origin, its infancy and its cradle. The Modernist rejoices to contemplate it at such moments, but when the evil days come, and it looks aged and wrinkled, he does not despise it, for he knows that though the forms of dogma grow old and may even seem to die, they do so only to rise again, transfigured, the moment after.

I wish that at this point I could tell you at length of the work of M. Edouard Le Roy, who has raised the question of dogma in such a way as to compel the whole Catholic world to listen to his voice, discuss his ideas, and enter into his preoccupations. The publication of his volume, *Dogme et Critique*, marks a date in religious history. The thought of the eminent Professor is at once so rich and so sober, so cautious and so penetrating, that I cannot content myself with a summary, but must confine myself to referring you to the book. You must read and re-read it if you would understand the life that is palpitating in our generation. It is a book of faith and love, in which there is not a line but helps us to a better understanding and love of the past, or

gives us intellectual and moral strength to make ready the future.

Modernism is not a philosophy, but none the less there is a Modernist philosophy which consists in studying the facts of religion by the method of observation.* Modernism is not a political creed, and yet there is a Modernist attitude in politics. While their adversaries rejoice—I am speaking for France only—at what they call the crimes of the Government, and hope that out of weariness and fear the people will take refuge in the Church's arms, the Modernists mistrust such triumphs, and desire a conversion which shall be the work of God in man and not the work of fear, which shall be a moral act of the whole nation, entered into with a full understanding of its meaning, and not the adhesion of a poor, fainting, crazy organism.

Thus, on whatever side we look, we see the characteristic feature of Modernism to be such a sense of life as is only to be found elsewhere, in so high a degree, in the parables of Jesus. But Modernism has not only the sense of life, it has also the possession of it. The

* Loisy's *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 157.

offspring of the past, it feels itself also the parent of the future.

Its activity and its life are transformed by this consciousness, even down to mere details of worship and liturgical use. For it a whole crowd of questions which distress other people do not even present themselves. The idea, for instance, of going back to the beginnings of the Church, and reconstructing the scene of the Last Supper, would seem to a Modernist as naïve as if a grown man were to make impossible attempts to become a child again. The idea of seeking for the period at which Christianity received its most perfect expression would seem to him the dream of an archæologist arranging a historical exhibition.

Once more, let me repeat, the Modernist Catholic destroys nothing and gives up nothing; he accepts everything and makes it live. The Mass, the present centre of worship, does not become for him an antiquarian rite, like those Buddhist ceremonies sometimes performed in our great capitals for the delectation of a sceptical and *blasé* public; it remains what it is, or rather it gains new significance and new life. The sighs of the ages have passed into it,

the first dim struggles of awakening religious thought have left their traces there in the mysterious figure of Melchizedek; the memory of the Jewish Passover pervades it, in wondrous harmony with the memory of the Upper Room. The Christian Passover is born, a feast of love and communion, whose end is not only to nourish our life from day to day but to give us strength to face the toil of the morrow —a feast from which the disciple rises, uttering no mere passive *Fiat*, but going forth to his work and to his labour. "I go, Lord, to help forward, as much as in me lies, the realisation of Thy kingdom." It is a banquet of those who find full satisfaction neither in the past nor the present, but know that they are going forth to their agony, to the great struggle— "Arise, let us go hence."

The development which began thousands of years before did not cease with the Christ. St Paul turns the gaze of his communicants eagerly towards the future: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26). A generation passes and the perspective is enlarged. The *Didachè* puts on the lips of the Christians of its time one of the most beautiful

prayers the human soul has ever lisped, a hymn of thanksgiving in which the Church becomes conscious of her catholicity, of her oneness not only with her members but with all Nature; in which she feels herself very weak and very imperfect, but feels also the infinite power which the consciousness of her vocation gives her.

"As this bread that is broken was scattered upon the mountains, and gathered together, and became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom. . . . Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from all evil, and to perfect her in Thy love, and gather together from the four winds her that is sanctified into Thy kingdom which Thou didst prepare for her." *

Then come the Middle Ages, the time of great dogmatic definitions; the cult of the Holy Sacrament, the cathedrals and processions—expressions, all these, of thought which stammers in its utterance and yet grows clearer and clearer. And when at last the Modernist priest reaches the present time, you can understand what emotion must fill him when he sees afar off the great masses who have never heard of

* Dr Bigg's translation.

Christ or the Church, when he sees them turning towards those ideas of union, of solidarity, of peace, of labour, and of liberty which have found their completest expression in the Eucharistic Feast.

For such a priest the Mass is anything but a mere rite, an empty form, a ceremonial turning to the east; it gives breadth and purpose to his life, and is at once its historic and its symbolic expression. His whole existence, one might say, is but a translation into deeds of the aspirations which the liturgy puts on the lips of the celebrant at the most solemn moment of the Consecration of the Eucharist. *Communicantes* murmurs the priest, in a low, low voice, like words of love which a man speaks to his betrothed and hardly articulates, because he feels their weakness.

When the Modernist reaches these heights who can separate him from the Church? What can cause him fear or even embarrassment? Authority and unity, dogma, forms of worship, the Papacy, these are far from being obstacles for him, they are supports. They are the *vetera*, the "things old," to which he will add the *nova*, the "things new"—*nova* not merely logical or dialectical or fanciful,

but *nova* which have sprung from the *vetera*, and have blossomed upon their stem.

Modernism, you see, is not in the least an intellectual synthesis which is fixed and unalterable; still less is it an ephemeral sect or combination. It has been born everywhere at the same moment, and involuntarily, the only way in which a living being can be born. It has neither sought to flee from science nor to make an ally of her, nor yet has it ignored her. It has had no searchings of heart about her, any more than the right hand could dream of quarrelling with the left, or the intellect of entering into a conflict with the heart.

Modernism is a great reconciler, and, for those who view it from without, its most characteristic feature, perhaps, is that it is a messenger of peace. It does not bring about reconciliations by demanding of both parties concessions and sacrifices which impoverish each; it reconciles them without thinking about it, or studying how to do it, without acting as a judge; by strengthening both and giving to each that full and complete possession of himself which leaves no opening for jealousy or rivalry.

Having reconciled science and faith, Modernism is now not far from coming to terms with free-thought. I seem at this point to hear the cries of joy with which in certain quarters these words will be received; they will be taken as an admission of the identity of Modernism with unbelief, and I shall be credited with the very opposite of my real meaning. What matter! Those who read these lines even in order to refute me, will be already on the road to Modernism, for but one way is open to them, if they do not wish to be drawn along, and that is to see and hear nothing.

When I speak of "free thought" it goes without saying that I am using the term in its etymological sense, that I am speaking of free thought in which there is at once thought and freedom, not of men or groups of men who confound free thought with anti-religious dogmatism. I am not speaking of people who, having been so unfortunate as to see only the maladies of religion, commit spiritual suicide in order to escape them.

Though there are free-thinkers of this sort, and very noisy ones, I am careful not to forget that there are others who are eminently religious, who are

irreligious out of religion. I know that some of these—some of the most distinguished of them—on reading the works of Tyrrell and Loisy, have been filled with emotion at the thought that the day was about to come when the old Church would enlarge the place of her tent and cry, "Peace, peace, to him that is far off, and to him that is near."

These sentiments have not remained merely private and personal, they have been manifested outwardly. Both in Italy and in France some of the most influential leaders of free-thought have publicly repudiated all connection with anti-religious propaganda. The names of Arturo Graf and Vandervelde, of Séailles and Deherme, call up the idea of free-thought which really deserves the name. These preoccupations have even given rise to a new title—"religious free-thought." The movement is no longer a mere pious wish, it has become a reality, and all through this winter gatherings have been held in Paris at which free-thinkers as representative as Buisson, Pécaut and Séailles, and Christians as well-known as Père Hyacinthe Loyson, Charles Wagner and Wilfred Monod, have met together and spoken in succession.

People who are opposed to these meetings between Christians and free-thinkers will no doubt inform me that no Roman Catholic priests are to be found there. I am able to say that there have been some there, and I may add that the reason why they are there no longer is that they have been expressly forbidden to go. What argument can be drawn from this physical and enforced absence, when in mind, heart and will Roman priests are there, sitting side by side with the men just named? Need I say that in these meetings there is no question of sacrificing anything whatsoever of one's own thought? Men go there in that spirit of faith and love which forced to the lips of a forerunner of Modernism, Père Lacordaire, these noble words: "I care not to convince my opponents of error, I aspire to be united with them in a higher truth."

It will be said that before setting out to convert the world the Modernists ought to agree among themselves, and that there is far from being a complete unity of thought among those who are recognised as the most unquestionable representatives of Modernism. No, there is no unity of thought; not only do I confirm this, but I am glad to do so. I

would advise those who are tempted to regard these diversities as an indication of death to read the New Testament, if only in a superficial way, and to see whether in the earliest Christian communities there were not quite as great diversities, and whether questions of principle, even, were not at stake.

Modernism is already virtually victorious. But why should we speak of victors and vanquished? Perhaps at the approach of winter you have wandered in the forest and noticed certain plane trees whose leaves seemed not to be able to fall. Little by little the other trees are stripped bare; at the least breeze their leaves glide, silent and melancholy, to the earth. For these planes, on the contrary, the wind must blow with violence, and then in a few minutes the tree loses a third or half of its leafage. To carry off what remains a fresh storm is needed, and lo! when January comes, at the end of the stripped branches a few large leaves which have stood out against the blasts, may still be seen to wave.

The spring comes, the sap rises; near the ground the tree puts forth shoots, and up there the old leaves still remain. What do they think of all that is happening down there in the trunk, what do they

think of the buds? The days of their youth are so far away, and since then so many storms have beat upon them that they no longer understand. And yet, see, a strange trembling comes upon them. The evening breeze rocks and enfolds them: "It is bringing me a royal mantle," thinks the old and venerable leaf. "Have I not triumphantly resisted all the storms, have I not seen all my sisters pass away?" Alas! the royal mantle was but a shroud, and, in its turn, the leaf which has stood out so long glides silently to the earth.

Is it not true that something analogous takes place in the world of institutions and ideas? Modernism is as sure of the future as the sap which rises in the tree, and all the forces hurled against it will be as ineffectual as an army sent out against the spring. Or rather it would be truer to say that its persecution by ecclesiastical authority has rendered Modernism an inestimable service, by keeping off sceptics and casual visitors and *dilettanti*.

Pius X. will not stop half-way. We shall see him make mistakes not only as to the origin and aims of the new movement, but as to its most obvious and characteristic facts. We shall see the authority

which claims to search into the secret things of God, incapable of making accurate quotations, attributing to its children the very opposite of their real thought, the very opposite of what they have said in the clearest possible way.

It is not for me to judge the metaphysical bases of the Bull *Pascendi*, but since it professes to give a faithful portrait of Modernism I have a right to say that this portrait not only alters the physiognomy of those condemned by the Bull, but completely distorts it.

It is not true that the Modernists start with an *a priori* assumption and that their exegesis is the child of their philosophy. The Abbé Loisy, like the Abbé Murri, and like many others whom I might name, but will not, for prudence' sake—priests and laymen, religious and prelates—started with a patient study of the texts. Even those who are specialists in philosophy, like Blondel, Laberthonnière, Fonsegrive and Le Roy, have not started with an *a priori* but with observation of the facts of religion. It is not true that Modernism springs from ignorance of scholastic philosophy, for its leaders were brought up on scholasticism, and such men as

Tyrrell and Murri were not so long ago singled out for special notice by the foremost scholastics of the present day.

The failure of authority to understand Loisy is a graver fact than the condemnation of Galileo. To compare his book, *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, with the Syllabus *Lamentabili* and the Encyclical *Pascendi*, is a task which does not demand more than average capacity, and one cannot help seeing that no one has done so much as he to shake the position of those who put forward doctrine as if it were history and have not the least understanding of the latter.*

Is it necessary after this to dwell at length on the measures which Pius X. is taking, on the police organisation of which he dreams, an organisation more compact and more implacable than the Inquisition? Is it necessary to remind you of all those mysterious and secret tribunals, in whose hands the reputation and the fate of bishops, as well as of mere priests, will be? What are we to think of the blindness of the men who to-day are making a gigantic and useless struggle against the most elementary liberties, and to-morrow, when the great fight over

* See *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 18, 19.

higher education in France begins, will suddenly become the champions of freedom?

But I must tell you all I think, and say a word about the still greater crosses which Modernists have to bear. I will tell you of them, not in order to make your hearts swell with rage, but in order to show you how much virility these poor Modernists—of whom the Pope draws so sinister a portrait—need to keep them from despair.

Not only are inquisitors—sometimes official, more often officious—sent to visit them, but the authorities are only too glad when some doubtful character gets up in front of their door, or as they pass along the street, to insult them with the most preposterous charges. I pity Pius X. when I see the sort of people he has accepted as interpreters of the Encyclical, people for whose actions he bears the responsibility, since he has granted them his *imprimatur* and sends them his felicitations and benedictions. It is sadly instructive to see what gross productions have received in a few hours the necessary permission for publication, while the works of men like Père Lagrange and Père Rose have for years been waiting for a permission that never comes. Would you like a specimen? I take

it haphazard from a pamphlet by Mgr. Matone, printed in Rome at the Pontifical Press of the Institute of Pius IX., and entitled: *Un po di coerenza. Saggio di logica e di religione modernista.**

Please excuse me if I do not translate it; it would be hard to find equivalents for some of these words in the phraseology of polite society. This prelate, after lamenting that there are no longer any galleys to which these murderers of souls, the Modernists, can be sent, asks himself who these men are. Here is his answer (page 20):

"E una razza invereconda, che si diletta dell' inganno e della calunnia; una razza di degenerati, di ambiziosi senza fede; senza vero ingegno, senza seri studi, senza decoro, che da qualche tempo si è data ad attaccare la religione degli avi nostri, la Chiesa, il Romano Pontefice, con accanimento di bestie lerce ed affamate, con brigantesca ferocia, con cretinismo ereditario, della razza abbietta dei persecutori della Chiesa. Questi vigliacchi che si dilettano del turpiloquio, appreso nelle putride cloache dell' eresia, sono resi più arditi dalla nostra

* The work contains 120 pages, and the passage quoted is on p. 20.

prudenza, dalla nostra longanimità, dal nostro silenzio."

Further on, speaking of the open letter of a group of priests to Pius X., he continues (page 21):

" In quel libello la miseria del concetto, la degenerazione dei sentimenti religiosi, la diarrea di spropositi teologici, la volgarità delle espressioni arroganti, fa riscontro alla forma involuta del mattoide, agli errori ripugnanti, alle calunnie stupidi e volgari. . . . (23). E dopo il Sillabo pareva che i farabutti dovessero acquietarsi o almeno tacere. Ma per questi mattoidi in cui il disordine del pensiero, la lacrimevole ignoranza è pari all' abbiettezza dell' animo gonfio nulla e più sacro."

That is the sort of literature which has sprung up round the Encyclical. Do not think this an isolated example, there are many others; from the big book by Father Gioachino Ambrosini, S.J.,* in which, under the title of *Occultism and Modernism*, insinuations are made against the latter which resemble very closely those made by the Pagan priests against Christianity in its infancy, to the book

* *Occultismo e Modernismo* (368 + xxiv pp).

of the Abbé Hector Deho, or that of a French priest, the Abbé Emmanuel Barbier, on *Democracy and Modernism*, a work which a bishop advised me to read a few weeks ago. "Read that," he wrote, "it is a masterpiece of Jesuitical delation."

These strange apologists, who, under pretence of serving God, arouse the vilest passions and are not above making equivocal accusations, and because they cannot overthrow or get rid of an enemy, do their best at any rate to soil his reputation; these strange personages had begun their wretched work in the latter years of Leo XIII., and slyly, as the poor old man's life ebbed away, they came nearer and nearer and drew their circle round authority. Yet they never dared to claim in loud tones that Pontiff's protection for their wares. The official incorporation of these recruits was to be the work of Pius X.'s pontificate. For him also was reserved the glory of bestowing his patronage on a whole series of illustrated papers from which you would instinctively turn your eyes away.

The founding of the satirical paper, *Il Mulo—The Mule*, which started under the friendly eye of the Holy See, with subscriptions collected from all parts of Catholic Italy, is an event which has doubtless passed

unnoticed in England, but which tells us a great deal about the mentality of the anti-Modernist clergy. There are clergy who think that by patronising this literature of the pavement and the gutter they will reach the people.

To gain an idea of the depths to which they descend, you should read, if you have the courage, a pamphlet by Father Ilario Rinieri—another Jesuit—which has been highly commended by the famous *Civiltà Cattolica*. This production, dated "Easter Day," has the appearance of a book of devotions; it has a handsome cream-coloured cover, and every page has a red border, like those in prayer-books intended for dainty hands. Its title is *Le Amazzoni del Cattolicismo Puro*—"The Amazons of Pure Catholicism." You must read its pages if you would learn how low a priest who has just consecrated the pure Host, the Immaculate Host, the holy bread, can descend in attacking a woman whom he knows to be defenceless.

The campaign of the Jesuits against Signorina Antonietta Giacomelli, who has devoted her life to showing the Italian people what the ordinances of religion mean, will remain one of the saddest chapters

in the history of Pius X.'s pontificate. She thought, very nobly, that the time had come to teach the people what the Mass really is, to show them that the Church's rites are not empty forms but expressions of life, which ought at once to enrich our life and be themselves enriched with our new emotions. Valiantly did she set to work. She wrote three stories, which not only attracted attention in Italy, but aroused interest abroad when translated into French under the auspices of M. Georges Goyau, a Catholic whom Leo XIII. had honoured with his friendship. All this was not enough to stay the Jesuit. No weapons are too bad for him who wishes to stop the mouth of a woman who is foolish enough to think for herself.

I said in an earlier lecture that there were Modernists in England; there are also anti-Modernists. Naturally they do not attain such perfection as the Italian and Roman anti-Modernists. In England books like those I have mentioned would ruin an author's reputation for ever. Yet perhaps your anti-Modernists will soon be jealous of the hardly enviable laurels of their Continental brethren. At any rate attempts will certainly be

made to rouse them to a holy emulation. The *Osservatore Romano*, the paper which the Holy See honours with its official communications, knows little of England, but recently it reproduced, with the full meed of praise which so fine a piece of literature deserved, a letter from the Reverend Father Vaughan, which letter, it appears, was read by its author from the pulpit of Westminster Cathedral.*

It is addressed to a student in the north of England and begins thus: "Dear Friend,—You ask me what is 'Modernism,' and what I think of it? I will answer your question in the Socratic method, by asking you another. What is appendicitis, and what do you think of it?"

According to the Reverend Father, however, there is a difference between appendicitis and Modernism—the latter is by far the more pernicious, it is a canker. History does not relate what the student thought of the letter. If, after reading it, he did not know more than he did before, he must obviously have been a bad character. I have never bought an autograph, but I would gladly give something for

* I take this information from the Paris *Croix* for December 22, 1907, where the letter is translated. According to the *Croix* it was published in the *Standard* for December 16, 1907.

this one, and present it to a museum, so that two or three centuries hence people may know what kind of apologetics delighted the foes of Modernism.

Pius X. has given ignorance, pride and curiosity as the explanation of Modernism. People very near him have assigned still less complex causes to it: in Rome, the gold of Jews and freemasons; in France, the gold of Protestants and Englishmen. Yes, among the anti-Modernists who are capable of writing and of editing newspapers, there are many who are convinced that their fellow-Catholics are stupid enough to let themselves be led astray by intriguers, and despicable enough to let themselves be bought. According to them the present movement is the result of an international conspiracy.

I do not know the views of Pius X. on this particular point, but I am sure that among the bishops there are many who feel a blush of shame mounting to their cheeks. One need not be a Modernist to be ashamed of a Montagnini, ashamed of delation, ashamed of this spiteful Press and of this *camorra* who have practically substituted themselves for the person of the Pontiff and are clamorously forcing

their will upon the Church. To be ashamed of them it is enough to be an honest man.

War has been declared against the Modernists; they will not waste time in replying. If they had been theologians they might and ought to have attacked the canonicity of Pius X.'s election. For this purpose it would have been enough to show that the famous Veto, the Exclusive, pronounced by Cardinal Puzyna, and called by M. Eugène Veuillot,* "the Emperor of Austria's outrage on the conclave and his attempt to limit the action of the Holy Ghost," did in fact impair the liberty of the conclave, and that since an election which is not free is not canonical, it follows that the election of Pius X. was not canonical.† But happily the Modernists are not theologians, and the idea of seeking lawyers' quarrels with authority does not even occur to them. They accept authority as it stands, and see in the

* In the *Univers*, August 23, 1903.

† When the famous article entitled *The Last Days of Leo XIII. and the Conclave of* 1903, by "A Witness," appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (March 1904), an important Catholic paper was naïve enough to adopt the following reasoning: "What is related in this article cannot be true, for if it were true the pontifical election would not have been free and consequently we should not have a canonically-elected Pope. But we have a canonically-elected Pope, therefore what is related in the *Revue* is incorrect.

errors it commits with regard to themselves a proof not that they must abolish it or withdraw their allegiance, but that they must bring it to view its mission in a different spirit.

What a noble spectacle is afforded by these men who, with a little diplomacy and manipulation, might have attained the highest positions in the hierarchy, and do not even perceive what they are giving up; who go into exile, and endure loneliness, treated coldly by some, basely by others! Under a clever opportunist pope like Leo XIII. Modernism would gradually have gained a position in the pontifical courts, it would have had its cardinals. Under Pius X. it will have its martyrs. Long live Pius X.!

Knowing what efforts the Church has always had to make as the forerunner of civilisation, conscious that her part is one of continual toil, the Modernists offer themselves as valiant labourers, to plough, through a soil that has grown peculiarly hard, the furrow that is needed to-day. They do not claim to be the whole Church; it is enough for them to be of the Church. to be her pioneers. Their splendid breadth of mind (the *Rinnovamento*, for instance, calls in the aid of Eucken and Caird and Briggs) is

not mere tolerance, or the result of a process of reasoning, as in the case of the *Cœnobium*,* or of scepticism, as in the case of certain publishers' enterprises and certain magazine "inquiries"; it is the sense that "all is ours and we are all men's," the spirit of youth and faith, the spirit of the Gospel. "All is ours and we are all men's! We shall conquer, not by drying up men's souls, or setting their faculties at war, but by raising them to the level of their best selves, by bringing them to completion." Such is their belief.

To a generation entangled in materialism, in a hand-to-mouth existence, in empty and feverish agitation, in an unbridled race after sensations, and yet possessing a soul, Modernism comes to tell the great eternal secret of the worth of sacrifice, the secret of that expansion of the whole moral being which St Francis called *perfect joy*.

It is high time for me to make an end, but I cannot do so without thanking you for the kind attention you have given me. I thank you not only in my own

* An independent Italian review of religion and philosophy. (Translator.)

name but in the name of those of whom I have spoken. I have had no mission, no authority, to speak to you of the Modernists, and they will be perfectly entitled to disown me.

If we think over what has been said in these three lectures we shall see that two ideas run through them, continually returning, always present, even when not expressed. These two ideas are logically contradictory. The first is that the Modernist orientation is something so new and profound as to transform completely not religious life only, but intellectual life also, and that the Modernist's whole existence is ordered upon principles different from those upon which men have hitherto lived. Yet at the same time I told you that the Modernists were the legitimate and obedient sons of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church. Is that not a formidable contradiction? Has not the thought occurred to some of you—"These Modernists are double-faced folk. When they are dealing with authority they feign to be humble and obedient, and protest their attachment; when they are before the public which is hostile to the Church they outdo it in the fervour

with which they swell the chorus of revolutionary demands. They do not stop at the limits fixed by orthodox Protestantism; they pass, without seeming to be aware of it, over the last vestiges which liberal Protestantism has suffered to remain."

Yes, it is true that in appearance the triumph of Modernism will be the triumph of contradiction and illogicality, but what does that prove except that the laws of life have not much to do with our poor ideas of formal logic?

Yes, there is something in the Church which is about to die, and there is also something about to be born, or rather there is something which is already dead and yet survives, rather like those petals of cherry-blossom which one occasionally finds clinging to the fruit.

The idea of the unlimited progress of religious institutions, of life succeeding death, was profoundly grasped by the architects of the great mediæval cathedrals. Go and gaze at one of them, seeking not only for artistic or picturesque impressions, but for the idea underlying the building, its secret, or rather the soul of the men who built it.

In the main *façade*, on either side of the great portal,

standing out prominently to your gaze, you will see two great statues. One represents a queen with uncertain gait; her eyes are blindfolded, her crown is slipping from her head, her sceptre is falling from her hands, her book of laws lies on the ground; perchance she may still have time to take refuge in some corner and utter a few broken words of command, but virtually she is already dead. Opposite her is another queen, who needs no diadem to show her royalty, so plainly is authority expressed in her bearing; she advances with eyes fixed on us and a pastoral staff for her sceptre; she needs no code of law, because she is herself a living word. This queen, so full of life, who comes much less to govern than to be the voice of a free people and to make them truly one, is—you know it as well as I do—the Church. The other queen with the veil over her eyes is the Synagogue.

The first words our old cathedrals say to us are these: "The one has slain the other"—the Church has slain the Synagogue. And yet, if you will look closer and examine the arches and all the sacred personages who people the porch, you will soon perceive that the unity which exists in the Bible between the Old

Testament and the New is to be found here also. Here you may see patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, fathers of the Church, all meditating over one parchment roll which has no break of continuity, of which neither the beginning nor the end is visible. The one has not slain the other but issued from it

Even so there is to-day a Christian Synagogue which will perish, that Synagogue which, so far as in it lies, has made the Church a political and anti-scientific society, a religious sect. The Modernist cathedral of to-morrow may well bear on its pediment a memorial of this lamentable error. But this Synagogue is not the Church. The Modernists are about to unfurl some further pages of the mysterious roll.

Let us rejoice that we live in days when the clamour of materialism cannot drown men's care for the things of the moral life, and when across the whole world we seem to feel the flow of unutterable thoughts and desires, of aspirations after unknown realities.*

* While these three lectures were being given in London there was published a reply to the Encyclical *Pascendi* by a group of French Modernists. It is entitled *Lendemains d'Encyclique*, by "Catholici," and contains 125 + x pages. It is issued by E. Nourry, 14 Rue Notre Dame de Lorette, Paris, from whom all the Modernist literature in the French language may be obtained.

I can only refer my readers to its fine and moving pages. The main divisions are as follows:—

I. Pius X.'s Modernism and the Modernists.
II. The Causes of Modernism: those which the Pope does and does not mention.
III. The Persecution of Modernists: what it will and will not effect.
IV. The Inevitable Conflict: History and Dogma.
V. The Encyclical and the Future of Catholicism.

The harmonious structure of this summary reflects the admirable arrangement of the book itself.

The contest between Modernists and anti-Modernists is a singularly unequal one, for if it is true that the Holy Ghost Himself, according to the Book of Wisdom, "makes eloquent the tongues of infants"—*linguas infantium facit disertas*—it is plain that the divine outpouring has descended with a marked preference for the champions of the new ideas.

APPENDIX I

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

(*Pieni l'Animo*)

To Our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy

PIUS X., POPE

VENERABLE BRETHREN, GREETING AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION

HAVING Our mind full of salutary fear, because We shall one day have to give the strictest account to the Prince of Pastors, Jesus Christ, of the flock He has committed to Our care, We pass our days in continual anxiety to preserve the faithful, as much as is possible, from the pernicious diseases with which human society is at present afflicted. We regard, therefore, as addressed to us the words of the Prophet, "*Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam*" ["Cry aloud, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet "] (Isaiah lviii. 1); and we do not fail, now by word of

mouth, now by letters, to warn, to entreat, to rebuke; arousing, above all, the zeal of Our Brethren in the episcopate, so that each may display the greatest vigilance over that portion of the flock of which the Holy Ghost has made him overseer.

The motive which impels Us to raise Our voice once again is of the gravest importance. We have to summon the whole attention of your minds and the whole energy of your pastoral ministry to check a disorder the disastrous effects of which are already being felt; and, if it is not plucked up with a strong hand by its deepest roots, consequences still more fatal will be felt as the years go on.

We have, indeed, under Our eyes, the letters of not a few of you, Venerable Brethren; letters full of sadness and distress, deploring the spirit of *insubordination* and *independence* which is manifesting itself here and there among the clergy.

Alas! a poisoned atmosphere is largely corrupting men's minds in our time, and its deadly effects are those which St Jude the Apostle has already described: "*Hi carnem quidem maculant, dominationem autem spernunt, majestatem autem blasphemant*" ["These men, indeed, defile their flesh, despise

dominions, and speak evil of dignities "] (Jude viii.) Besides the most degrading corruption of morals they have an open scorn for all authority and for those who exercise it. But that such a spirit should penetrate even into the sanctuary and infect those to whom the words of *Ecclesiasticus* ought most exactly to apply, "*Natio illorum, obedientia et dilectio*" ["Their generation is obedience and love "] (Ecclesiasticus iii. 1), is a thing which fills our mind with infinite grief. And it is, above all, among the young priests that this baneful spirit is working havoc, spreading among them new and reprehensible theories as to the very nature of obedience. And what is graver still, as though in order to obtain in good time new recruits for the growing band of the rebels, a more or less secret propaganda of such teachings is being made among the young men who, in the shelter of the seminaries, are preparing for the priesthood.

Thus, Venerable Brethren, We feel it Our duty to make an appeal to your consciences, in order that, laying aside all hesitation, you may with vigorous mind and with equal constancy give your attention to the extermination of this bad seed, so fruitful of the most fatal consequences. Remember always

that the Holy Ghost has appointed you to rule. Remember the precept of St Paul to Titus, "*Argue cum omni imperio. Nemo te contemnat*" ["Rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee"] (Tit. ii. 15). Demand strictly from priests and clerics that obedience which, while absolutely obligatory upon all the faithful, constitutes for priests a principal part of their sacred duty.

In order, therefore, to prevent in advance the multiplication of these stubborn spirits, it is of great importance to remember always the Apostle's high admonition to Timothy: "*Manus cito nemini imposueris*" ["Lay hands suddenly on no man"] (1 Tim. v. 22). It is, indeed, the facility of admission to Holy Orders which naturally opens the way to a "multiplication of people" in the sanctuary, and afterwards does "not increase the joy." We know that there are towns and dioceses where, far from there being cause to complain of a scarcity of clergy, the number of priests much exceeds the needs of the faithful. What motive can there be, Venerable Brethren, to render so frequent the laying-on of hands? If the scarcity of clergy can never be a sufficient reason for haste in so grave a matter, there is no excuse, where the supply

of clergy exceeds the need of them, for any lack of the greatest circumspection and the utmost strictness in the choice of those who are to be called to the honour of the priesthood. Not even the insistence of the aspirants can lessen the offence of such facility.

The priesthood, instituted by Jesus Christ for the eternal salvation of souls, is assuredly no human profession or office, to which whosoever will, and for whatsoever reason, has a right freely to dedicate himself. Let the bishops therefore proceed, not according to the desires or claims of the aspirants, but, as the Council of Trent commands, according to the needs of the dioceses. So proceeding, they will be able to choose those only who are truly suitable, rejecting those who show inclinations opposed to the sacerdotal calling, and especially disobedience to discipline, and its parent, intellectual pride.

In order that there may not be wanting young men showing fitness to be raised to the sacred ministry, We must insist once more, and more strongly, Venerable Brethren, upon what We have already several times enjoined: that is upon the obligation which lies upon you, a grave one in the sight of God, to be vigilant and to promote with all care the due conduct

of your seminaries. Your priests will be what you have made them by education. Very weighty is the letter, dated December 8, 1902, which Our most wise Predecessor addressed to you on this point, as a kind of testament at the end of his long pontificate. We have nothing new to add to it; We will only recall to your memory the precepts contained in it, and We enjoin earnestly the putting into execution, at the earliest possible moment, of Our orders, issued through the Sacred Congregation of the Bishops and Regulars, as to the concentration of the seminaries, especially for philosophical and theological studies, to the end that the great advantage springing from the separation of the little seminaries from the great may thus be obtained, and also the other advantage, not a less one, in respect of the necessary instruction of the clergy.

Let a proper spirit be jealously maintained in the seminaries, and let their purpose remain *exclusively* to prepare young men, not for civil careers, but for the lofty mission of ministers of Christ. Let the study of Philosophy, Theology and the allied sciences, and especially of Holy Scripture, be carried on, holding fast to the Pontifical orders, and to the study of St

Thomas, so often enjoined by Our venerated Predecessor, and by Us in Our Apostolic Letters of January 23, 1904. Let the bishops exercise the most scrupulous vigilance over the masters and their doctrines, recalling to their duty those who may have run after dangerous novelties, and relentlessly removing from the office of teacher all those who do not profit by the admonitions they have received.

Let not young clerics be permitted to frequent the public universities, except for very weighty reasons and with the greatest precautions on the part of the bishops. Let the pupils in the seminaries be entirely prevented from taking any part whatsoever in external agitations; and, to this end, We forbid them to read newspapers and periodicals, with the exception of some one periodical of sound principles which the Bishop may judge convenient to be studied by the pupils. Let the disciplinary arrangements be maintained with ever greater vigour and vigilance.

Finally, let not there be wanting in each seminary a spiritual director, a man of no ordinary prudence and experienced in the ways of Christian perfection, who, with unwearying diligence, may cultivate in the

young men that firm piety which is the primary foundation of the priestly life. If these rules, Venerable Brethren, are conscientiously and constantly followed by you, you may be confident of seeing a body of clergy grow up around you who will be your joy and crown.

But the disorder of insubordination and independence, which We have thus far deplored, goes much further in the case of some of the young clergy, and the mischief wrought by it is far greater. For there are not wanting those who are so possessed by this reprobate spirit that, abusing the sacred ministry of preaching, they openly make themselves, to the destruction and scandal of the faithful, its champions and apostles.

As early as July 31, 1894, Our Predecessor, through the Sacred Congregation of the Bishops and Regulars, called the attention of Ordinaries to this grave matter. The orders and rules given in that pontifical document We now confirm and renew, and We lay them upon the conscience of the bishops, lest in them the words of Nahum the prophet should be fulfilled: "*Dormitaverunt pastores tui*" ["Thy shepherds have slumbered"] (Nahum iii. 18).

No man may have a faculty to preach "*nisi prius de vita et scientia et moribus probatus fuerit*" ["unless he has first been tested as to his life and knowledge and morals"] (Conc. Trid. sess. V. c. 2 *De reform.*). Priests are not to be authorised to preach outside their own dioceses without testimonials from their Bishop. Let the matter of their preaching be that indicated by the Divine Redeemer when He said: "*Praedicate Evangelium*" ["Preach the Gospel"] (Mark xvi. 15). . . . "*Docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis*" ["Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you"] (Matt. xxviii. 20). Or, as the Council of Trent comments: "*Annunciantes eis vitia, quae eos declinare, et virtuies quae sectari opportet, ut poenam aeternam evadere et caelestem gloriam consequi valeant*" ["Declaring to them the vices which they must avoid and the virtues which they must pursue, that so they may escape eternal punishment and obtain celestial glory"] (*Loc. cit.*). Therefore let those subjects which are more suited for journalistic controversy and academic meetings than for the holy place be utterly banished from the pulpit; let moral preaching be put before lectures, which are, at best, unfruit-

ful; let the clergy speak "*non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis*" ["not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power"] (1 Cor. ii. 4). Therefore the chief source for preachers should be the Holy Scriptures, understood, not according to the private judgments of minds most often clouded by passions, but according to the tradition of the Church, the interpretations of the Holy Fathers and the Councils.

In conformity with these rules, Venerable Brethren, you must act as judges of those to whom the ministry of the divine word has been committed by you. And whensoever you find that one of them, more careful of his own interests than of those of Jesus Christ, more anxious for the world's applause than for the good of souls, is going astray, do you admonish and correct him; and if that suffices not, remove him inexorably from an office of which he has shown himself utterly unworthy.

This vigilance and severity you ought the more to employ since the ministry of preaching is your special office and a chief part of your episcopal functions, and whoever exercises it, besides you,

exercises it in your name and in your stead; wherefore you are ever responsible before God for the manner in which the bread of the divine word is dispensed to the faithful.

We, to avoid on Our part all responsibility, intimate to and enjoin upon all Ordinaries that they are to refuse and suspend, after charitable admonitions, even during a sermon, any preacher whatsoever, be he of the secular or of the regular clergy, who shall not submit himself fully to the injunctions of the aforesaid Instruction issued by the Congregation of the Bishops and Regulars. Better is it that the faithful should content themselves with a mere read homily, or with exposition of the Catechism by their parish priest, than that they should have to be present during sermons which produce more harm than good.

Another field in which, alas! some of the young clergy find occasion and incitement to profess and defend emancipation from every yoke of lawful authority is that of the so-called "Christian action among the people." It is not, Venerable Brethren, that this action is in itself reprehensible or leads by its very nature to the despising of authority, but

that not a few, misinterpreting its nature, have voluntarily departed from the rules which were laid down for its right conduct by Our Predecessor of immortal memory.

We speak, be it clearly understood, of the Instruction relating to Christian action among the people which was issued, by order of Leo XIII., by the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs on January 27, 1902, and which was forwarded to each of you in order that you might see to its execution in your respective dioceses. This Instruction We also confirm, and with the fulness of Our power We renew its regulations all and single; as We likewise confirm and renew all the others issued by Ourselves to the same intent in the *Motu proprio* of December 18, 1903:—*De populari actione christiana moderanda*—and in the Circular Letter of Our beloved son, the Cardinal Secretary of State, dated July 28, 1904.

As regards the founding and direction of newspapers and periodicals, the clergy should observe faithfully all that is prescribed in Article 42 of the Apostolical Constitution *Officiorum* (January 25, 1897): "*Viri e clero . . . prohibentur quominus*,

absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant" ["Members of the clergy are forbidden to undertake, without previous authorisation from the Ordinaries, the direction of daily papers or periodical publications."] Likewise, without the previous consent of the Ordinary, no member of the clergy may publish writings of any sort, whether on religious or moral subjects, or of a moral character, or of a merely technical character. In the case of the founding of clubs and societies the statutes and regulations should be first examined and approved by the Ordinary.

Lectures on Christian action among the people or on any other subject may not be given by any priest or cleric without permission of the local Ordinary. All language which might inspire the people with aversion for the upper classes is, and ought to be held to be utterly contrary to the true spirit of Christian charity. In the same manner in Catholic papers all such speech is to be condemned as, inspired by an unhealthy love of novelty, derides the piety of the faithful and points towards "new orientations of Christian life, new directions for the Church, new aspirations of the modern soul, a new social

vocation for the clergy," a new Christian civilisation and other like things.

Priests, especially young priests, although they are to be praised for going to the people, should nevertheless proceed in this matter with due respect for and obedience to authority and the orders of their ecclesiastical superiors. And when occupying themselves, in this spirit of subordination, with Christian action among the people, their noble aim ought to be this: "To rescue the sons of the people from their ignorance of spiritual and eternal things, and with diligence, skill and kindness to lead them to a good and virtuous life; to strengthen grown men in the faith by removing prejudices against it, and to give them courage to practise the Christian life; to promote among the Catholic laity those institutions which are recognised as truly effectual for the moral and material amelioration of the multitudes; to defend, above all, the principles of evangelical justice and charity in which all the rights and all the duties of civil society are rightly balanced. . . . But let them remember always that even among the people the priest should preserve intact his august character as the minister of God, since he is set over his brethren

animarum causae [for the good of their souls] (*Regul. Past.* of S. Gregory the Great, II. c. 7). Any mode of dealing with the people to the detriment of priestly dignity, of ecclesiastical duties and discipline, can only be severely condemned." (*Ep. Encycl.*, December 8, 1902).

For the rest, Venerable Brethren, in order to set an effectual check upon this overflow of unruly ideas and this expansion of the spirit of independence, We absolutely forbid, by virtue of Our authority, from this day forward, any cleric or priest to give his name to any society which is not dependent on the bishops.

In a more special way, and by name, We forbid clerics and priests, under penalty, for clerics of disqualification for Holy Orders, and for priests of suspension *ipso facto a divinis*, to enroll themselves in the *Lega democratica nazionale*, the programme of which was issued at Rome and Torrette on October 20, 1905, and the statutes of which, without any author's name, were printed at Bologna in the same year by the Provisional Commission.

These are the orders which, having regard to the present condition of the Italian clergy and in a matter of so great importance, the solicitude of

Our apostolic office demanded of Us. And now, Venerable Brethren, it only remains for Us to add new spurs to your zeal, in order that these Our regulations and orders may be promptly and fully executed in your dioceses. Forestall the evil where happily it has not yet shown itself, extinguish it promptly where it is just springing up, and where unhappily it is already full grown extirpate it energetically and resolutely. Laying this charge on your consciences, We pray God that He will grant you the prudence and the strength which you need. And to this end We bestow upon you from the depths of Our heart the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St Peter's, Rome, July 28, 1906, *the third year of Our Pontificate.*

PIUS X., POPE.

APPENDIX II

PETITION FROM A GROUP OF FRENCH CATHOLICS TO POPE PIUS X.

(*September*, 1906)

HOLY FATHER,—

We are French Catholics, deeply attached to our faith and our worship, but with free minds and resolute wills. With the affectionate boldness of sons addressing their father we venture to set forth to Your Holiness the grave consequences that would result from a rejection, pure and simple, of the religious associations (*associations cultuelles*). Our names will not appear beneath this letter. It is not indeed that we object to taking the responsibility of our step, but, after the reception given three months ago to the letter of the Academicians and jurists, many of whom are our friends or colleagues, after the campaign of base insinuations, of clumsy and sometimes coarse irony, conducted by a certain religious Press against the men who signed this document—a document nevertheless most dignified in tone, deferential in form and inspired by lofty ideals—

it seemed best to us to let our remarks speak for themselves, with no support beyond that of reason and truth.

It would be puerile and even wrong to seek to conceal from you, Holy Father, the impression produced by your recent Encyclical Letter to the French episcopate.

In enlightened circles, that is, among all those professors, doctors, barristers, engineers, manufacturers and merchants who are bound to Catholicism not only by their baptism but by very definite religious acts which they perform unhesitatingly at the chief stages in their life; among the cultivated and thoughtful middle-classes who are much given to argument, but whose reasonable opinion always ends by becoming the opinion of the country, there has been immense surprise, and profound and painful disappointment. In families where Catholicism is most alive, as well as in those where faith is more lukewarm, everyone's religion and patriotism has suffered a sort of pang. Relations and friends could not meet without immediately asking one another if this decision—which seems inspired by principles

to which we are no longer accustomed—would not precipitate the country into a veritable civil war—into what the ancients called " inexpiable " war.

It is well that you should know also, Holy Father, that if your letter has saddened all good citizens it has rejoiced, on the other hand, all the fomenters of violence, hatred and discord who for thirty-five years have been the irreconcilable and systematic opponents of the government of the Republic, and regard every event, at home or abroad, which is calculated to embarrass this loathed *régime*, as a triumph for their cause. To be convinced of this one need only make a list of the Paris and provincial papers, and collect together the innumerable articles devoted to the Encyclical. The applause has come solely from the recognised supporters of royalism, imperialism and anti-Semitism. After having for ten years openly or hypocritically revolted against the wise directions of your great predecessor, they are to-day loudly proclaiming their zeal—a purely verbal one—for religion, because it is the only means left to them of winning back the simple and ignorant masses which have deserted their standard. But the French democracy has too often seen them

at work to be duped by these demonstrations. It knows that for these incorrigible mischief-makers religion has never been aught else than a mask to be thrown aside when the comedy is over.

But, Holy Father, when it sees who applaud you, this same democracy will be led to the conclusion that in our country the cause of Catholicism is definitely bound up with that of all the defeated parties. And as France is determined, above all else (the voting in the elections has shown this more and more clearly and eloquently), to maintain the form of government which she has chosen for herself, at the moment when she is about to enter upon far-reaching social reforms which are sending a thrill of hope through her people, so nobly enamoured of justice and right, is there not fear of her making religion pay dear for the indiscretion which the leaders of Catholicism would commit if they once more cast in their lot with the worst enemies of the Republic?

That the Law of Separation must be considered bad, that it contains mean and unjust provisions in regard to various persons, that several of its articles are perfidious attempts upon the liberties which the

Church requires for the exercise of her ministry—all this not one of your sons would think of denying after your solemn condemnation of the Law in the Encyclical *Vehementer*. What needed saying in the name of God and of the supreme interests of which you are the guardian was said by you on February 11, in very dignified and forcible terms, to which the whole of Catholic France seems to have subscribed.

But, this question of principle once out of dispute, truth compels us to recognise that the Law, as it has left the Chambers, while not entirely purged of all the vexatious and illogical provisions of the original draft, does nevertheless offer very real advantages. These advantages are so important that certain of our legislators have considered them excessive, and others, more friendly and in no way partisans, have declared, on the strength of them, in perfect good faith, that the Law is genuinely liberal. The most considerable of these advantages is undoubtedly the freedom of nomination to ecclesiastical appointments. But there are others: the gratuitous handing over of the places of worship for an unlimited period; the provisional but renewable possession of the bishops' palaces, the presbyteries and the seminaries; the

entrusting to the *associations cultuelles* of the administration, subject to a purely formal supervision, of the property, amounting to *two hundred million francs*, which forms the existing patrimony of the churches in France; and lastly, the pensions and grants which, limited as they are, at least ensure for our priests the necessities of life for the time being. The people will never be convinced that a law which makes such provisions for the benefit of the Church is a law absolutely hostile to religion. In any case, those who are most in touch with parliamentary affairs regard them as the *maximum* of concessions that it was possible to obtain from the French Chambers at the present time.

But, Holy Father, if the true meaning of your Encyclical is indeed that attributed to it by our legislators and our journalists, these advantages, which were not all contained in the first draft of the Law but have been extorted at the cost of so much labour and eloquence by the defenders of liberty, will be lost in a few months. You cannot be ignorant of what will be the terrible, but none the less certain and legal situation of the French Church when it sees with anguish the year 1907 dawn upon it. Our

fifty thousand cathedrals, churches and chapels will revert to the State or the communes, which will have the right to dispose of them in course of time as they please; the bishops and priests, driven forth from their palaces and presbyteries, will be forced to seek shelter elsewhere for themselves and their families; their parochial or diocesan archives, so indispensable to the normal working of Catholic life, will be confiscated and will fall into the hands of people who will not have much respect for the secrets they preserve.

At the same time the pensions and grants will probably be suppressed by way of reprisal, and the entire maintenance of the clergy will fall upon the faithful; and there are no grounds for thinking that the latter will long be willing or able to provide the *forty* million francs needed for the support of the priests, and the further *twenty* millions required for Church expenses. The seminaries, "great" and "little," of which the buildings are for the most part State property, will be closed, the supply of priests will be dried up at its source, and one cannot but ask what provision there will then be for the serving of the parishes. Divine service being thus reduced to a strictly private affair, under the suspicion of the

political authorities, and forbidden to the families of our seven hundred thousand officials, it is to be expected that in a country like ours, where faith is so much shaken, where respect for other men is so powerful, where the State has at its disposal an almost unlimited power of intimidation, innumerable defections will take place. After a few years, even, of such a state of things it would be a miracle if the Catholic Church had not lost the greater part of those who still remain faithful to her. And henceforth we may regard it as certain that Protestantism, enjoying the favour of the State by reason of its *associations cultuelles* which are even now formed and ready to start work, will quickly gain many positions which we shall be compelled to abandon, and will gradually threaten to install itself in our churches and presbyteries, and, above all, in the hearts of the faithful.

The prospect of such wide-spread ruin, of moral and material distress so near and so inevitable, would not, however, be discouraging to us Christians if, in this conflict between Your Holiness's decisions and the legislation of the Republic, there were at stake one of those questions of dogma or morals on which it is evident to all that the Church cannot yield without

ceasing to be what she has always been and what she must continue to be if she is to remain the Church of Jesus Christ.

But we will venture to ask you publicly and aloud what thousands of Catholics are asking each other in a low voice—whether Catholic dogma is really endangered by the Separation Law?

Catholics we are, for we stand by your side; Catholics we shall continue, even if our country is torn in two by a fratricidal war, for, whatever happens, by your side we will remain. But, Holy Father, do not be angry with us because we live in a land of clear ideas. Our language, which you do not know, and our mind, which with its age-long habits of frankness has not been explained to you, are opposed to indefinite situations and enigmatic formulæ. You will not, we trust, disapprove if we are desirous to learn the true and valid reasons for this unexpected *non possumus*, the grounds of this verdict for which we were so unprepared, and from which, as you yourself admit, "so many and great trials" will result.

Many voices, not all of them disinterested, have been telling you, very cleverly and for a long time,

that to allow the establishment of the *associations cultuelles* (into which the religious element is only introduced by the Law under a form that, though doubtless "certain and legal," is implicit and general) would be to allow authority to emanate from the faithful in association and not from the hierarchy. You have been fearful lest democratic government should invade the Church. But on a sounder view of things the Law, with the guarantees which the State, while it did not enjoin them, did not forbid the Church to enjoin upon the associations, does not seem to us to have assigned to the laity a much more important part, or a very different one, from that which has long been theirs, namely, to provide the priests and bishops with the financial resources which they will need to-morrow still more than to-day. And even if their part were to become a little more important why should Your Holiness be alarmed? Was not that one of the reforms which, in his spiritual testament, the pious and by no means revolutionary Cardinal Manning most desired? Ought we, then, to regret those glorious and fruitful days when the faithful, having more voice in the destinies of the Church, played a far more considerable part

than will ever be theirs now, in nominating their priests and bishops?

Must not one or other of these considerations have impressed the *sixty-four* bishops of France who assembled at the end of May to find some way of reconciling "the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff" with loyalty to our national institutions? The problem of harmonising the rights of the law and of the hierarchy was plainly not very difficult, since two days of deliberation sufficed to settle it very simply and wisely. For we now know, beyond all possibility of doubt, what was said and done. Unhappily it was not you, Holy Father, who told us. The skilfully-prepared text of your Encyclical left us in danger of ignorance of the truth. To-day we know that our bishops, in spite of the threats, insults and subtle instigations of a great party, had, after invoking the aid of the Holy Ghost and considering the welfare of France, decided by an important majority loyally to make trial of the Law, and had accepted *unanimously* the scheme for *associations fabriciennes*, "at once *legal* and *canonical*," put forward by a discreet archbishop. We know also that Your Holiness has thought fit to give preference,

over these serious and ripe decisions of the whole episcopate of the greatest of the Catholic churches, to the resolutions secretly arrived at by a commission of German, Italian and Spanish prelates, in which the Church of France was represented by a single Frenchman only, who was powerless in the midst of so many others. It is for history to decide who was responsible. We do not protest in the face of your supreme authority, but, in sorrow and fear, we cry out to you, Holy Father: "There is something that we do not understand, that the heads of our dioceses understand no more than we do. In spite of their official declarations we can divine that their minds, like those of all of us, are in a state of disturbance that nothing can allay."

There must have been something else. We do not conceal from ourselves the fact that a gratuitous insult has been offered to Your Holiness by the elaboration and promulgation, without your assistance and without the participation of the Church's representatives, of this Law inspired by hostility to religion, a law the real scope of which will remain unknown as long as it has not been tried. This insult has been as bitter and as mortifying to us as to

you, since it was intended to mark in the eyes of all men the decay of Christian belief in the nation. Doubtless in this land of chivalry, where men worship honour above all else, if the Church's government were like any other government people would have recognised that reprisals were justified, and would have applauded the proud gesture with which you would have said to those who had insulted you: "You are a whole nation, a great and mighty nation. You are strong. I am but an old man, and I stand alone. But I have to defend the honour of my God, of the Church and of some two hundred and sixty pontiffs who have done before me what others will do after me. You wish for war. I accept the invitation."

Yes! But you are other and greater than your adversaries. You are the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Your kingdom is a kingdom of peace, of meekness, of forgiveness. You are the Head of those to whom Jesus gave the commandment to love not only those who do good unto them but also those who do them evil. To those who, not having understood the Gospel, might reproach you for not hurling your anathema, you might also reply that a nation is one through all its generations and that a moment of ill-

humour ought not to efface the memory of twelve hundred years of splendid devotion, of the generosity of a people which gave, without counting, its gold, its love and its life-blood to the successors of St Peter. When, after enduring fifteen years of ill-natured and irritating persecution, Leo XIII. signed a peace with Germany under Prince Bismarck, and sanctioned a legislation which was undoubtedly more aggressive than that of our law-makers, we French Catholics did not complain that the Pope had shown too much magnanimity and forgetfulness of injuries, or shown it too early. Being what we are, we shall never be able to understand how Pius X. can be less tolerant towards France than Leo XIII. was generous to Germany. In the evil days of that terrible year when France was in her agony, do you remember, Holy Father, how, if we stood alone and our allies failed us, that was solely because the head of the French government refused to the last to abandon Rome, the city of the Popes, to those who had long been coveting her, and how if certain regiments were missing in our first battles it was because the road was so long from the Papal barracks to the plains of Alsace?

To some people, it is true, your Encyclical seems not so much a definite and final refusal as an invitation to open negotiations and to modify the Law. Such a step might perhaps have been possible yesterday, before this great outburst; it would undoubtedly have been so at the time when the Law was under discussion, if Your Holiness had authorised someone to present, in your name, some firm proposals. Alas! it is out of the question to-day; it is now either *too late* or *too early*. Catholics who are aware of the political situation have no illusions. You will have learnt from the Press the unanimous, the perfectly resolute and the perfectly independent attitude of the principal groups of the democracy. The most moderate sections have quietly repeated that all the citizens of the State, whoever they may be, must obey the Law, and that the Government will quell all opposition. The advanced parties, which are powerful, and whose progress nothing has yet availed to stop, are loudly rejoicing that they will be able to continue for many years their anti-clerical agitation—of all policies the easiest and the most popular. And if some among us had still doubts as to the real opinion of the country at bottom, that

opinion has just made itself heard through the medium of the *conseils généraux*. It neither hesitates nor discusses. Dread and imperious as the voice of the peoples, it demands "the full and energetic application" of a law which has been signally approved by the vote of the nation, a law which we Catholics ourselves appear to have implicitly accepted by at once availing ourselves of those of its articles which are in our favour. In fine, Holy Father, if the discussion closed by the vote of the Chambers were re-opened you may be sure that any modifications introduced into the text would but aggravate our position.

It is a solemn and decisive moment. Henceforward events will move fast. The violence of the violent will increase and grow fiercer. In company with the majority of our bishops and the great majority of our fellow-Catholics who are capable of thought, we are convinced that it is still possible to avoid a battle. If there is a battle, Holy Father, we shall fight with you and for you. Permit us, however, to remind you of the by no means encouraging conditions under which the struggle will take place.

The Catholics who are implicated in the excesses of a political faction which is more turbulent than

intelligent are a minority. Certain scenes that occurred when the inventories were taken have shown their wishes and intentions; but the results of the parliamentary elections which followed soon after have proved how extremely limited is their influence and how hopelessly poor is their organisation.

As for the dark masses of the democracy which are slowly rising to attack our ancient social institutions, we are willing to believe that they are not wholly irreligious; they retain a memory and desire for a few of the Church's rites; but they do not believe; they are moving towards materialism and atheism. Although our clergy are recruited from the people, although they do not cease to show the most entire devotion to it, they are no longer safe from gross insults. The mere sight of a cassock irritates the working-man. At the great stages in life, baptisms, marriages, funerals, the traditional and hieratic ceremonies, celebrated in a dead language, are becoming more and more incomprehensible to him. In the fragments of the Gospel which he hears read, he can no longer recognise the sweet and potent voice which has enriched with

divine consolation so many of the poor throughout the ages.

The attitude of the intellectual world towards the Church inspires us with other and still more disquieting fears. Yawning breaches have been opened in the ramparts of the Holy City. There are many deserters. As for those who continue to adhere without enthusiasm to the teaching of the Church, why should we conceal from you, Holy Father, that their perplexity, already great in face of so many questions that are insoluble or have been most regrettably settled in defiance of science, has been much increased by some of your recent decisions? The strong words of a Catholic who is not affected by any mania for innovations, and whose counsels had some weight with your predecessor, must not be forgotten indefinitely: "When the assembly of the French bishops has decided what the Church's attitude is to be in face of the Separation Law, we shall ask it to try to tell us, defining them with both breadth and precision, what means are at the Church's disposal to resist the onslaught of free thought. Mere lamentations will not suffice, nor invectives against freemasonry, nor manœuvres at

the elections, nor literature and politics generally. Something else must be sought and found."

In raising our voice towards your apostolic throne, Holy Father, we, who respect your decisions while we deplore them, have been careful to separate ourselves from those mischief-making Catholics whose blindness has led us to the verge of an abyss. History, which will judge between them and us, will denounce their lack of Christian feeling as much as their lack of critical sense. But at the same time we have been careful to distinguish ourselves from those fawning Catholics whose constant flattery and equivocal silence is not what one was entitled to expect from their religious conscience and the clear-sightedness which should accompany their patriotism. We have been prompted by our love for the Church, of which, in spite of all things, there is no more reason to despair in our land than elsewhere. We have likewise been prompted by the sacred interests of France, a country as noble in the present as she has been in the past. And if it is true that the vote of the bishops appointed under the Concordat, when confronted with a law of their own country, drew from you that cry which, intended as a reproach, will

remain the highest of eulogies, "They have voted as Frenchmen!", we give you to know, Holy Father, that the real France, the France which does not plot and agitate and intrigue, but thinks and toils, was on that day entirely with her bishops.

The most marvellous daughter of old France, whom our little children invoke on their knees and whom you are about to make a saint to be prayed to in church—Joan of Arc—was moved to tears when the archangels came down from heaven to tell her of "the great pity which was in the kingdom of France."

Forgive us, Father of all Christians, for having ventured to tell you, while there is yet time, of the great pity there is at this moment in the minds of the rulers of our dioceses and of the best of their flock, in the minds of our wives, our daughters, our mothers, in the minds of all those who realise that Catholicism is still bound up with the destinies of our great country and of a civilisation which will never renounce the principles of the French Revolution, but which traces its origin to a more distant and a higher source: to the Gospel and the very heart of Christ.

A Group of French Catholics.

APPENDIX III

DECREE OF THE HOLY ROMAN AND UNIVERSAL INQUISITION.

(*Lamentabili Sane Exitu*)

Wednesday, July 3, 1907.

With truly lamentable results our age, intolerant of all check in its investigations of the ultimate causes of things, not unfrequently follows what is new in such a way as to reject the legacy, as it were, of the human race and thus fall into the most grievous errors. These errors will be all the more pernicious when they affect sacred disciplines, the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, the principal mysteries of the faith. It is to be greatly deplored that among Catholics also not a few writers are to be found who, crossing the boundaries fixed by the Fathers and by the Church herself, seek out, on the plea of higher intelligence and in the name of historical considerations, that progress of dogmas which is in reality the corruption of the same.

But lest errors of this kind, which are being daily spread among the faithful, should strike root in their minds and corrupt the purity of the faith, it has pleased His Holiness Pius X., by Divine Providence Pope, that the chief among them should be noted and condemned through the office of this Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.

Wherefore after a most diligent investigation, and after having taken the opinion of the Reverend Consulters, the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords Cardinals, the General Inquisitors in matters of faith and morals, decided that the following propositions are to be condemned and proscribed, as they are, by this general Decree, condemned and proscribed:

1. The ecclesiastical law, which prescribes that books regarding the Divine Scriptures are subject to previous censorship, does not extend to critical scholars or students of the scientific exegesis of the Old and New Testament.

2. The Church's interpretation of the Sacred Books is not indeed to be contemned, but it is subject to the more accurate judgment and to the correction of the exegetes.

3. From the ecclesiastical judgments and censures passed against free and more scientific (*cultiorem*)

exegesis, it may be gathered that the faith proposed by the Church contradicts history and that the Catholic dogmas cannot really be reconciled with the true origins of the Christian religion.

4. The magisterium of the Church cannot, even through dogmatic definitions, determine the genuine sense of the Sacred Scriptures.

5. Since in the deposit of the faith only revealed truths are contained, under no respect does it appertain to the Church to pass judgment concerning the assertions of human sciences.

6. In defining truths the Church learning (*discens*) and the Church teaching (*docens*) collaborate in such a way that it only remains for the Church *docens* to sanction the opinions of the Church *discens*.

7. The Church, when it proscribes errors, cannot exact from the faithful any internal assent by which the judgments issued by it are embraced.

8. Those who treat as of no weight the condemnations passed by the Sacred Congregation of the Index or by the other Roman Congregations are free from all blame.

9. Those who believe that God is really the author of the Sacred Scripture display excessive simplicity or ignorance.

10. The inspiration of the books of the Old Testament consists in the fact that the Israelite writers have handed down religious doctrines under a peculiar aspect, either little or not at all known to the Gentiles.

11. Divine inspiration is not to be so extended to the whole Sacred Scripture that it renders its parts, all and single, immune from all error.

12. The exegete, if he wishes to apply himself usefully to biblical studies, must first of all put aside all preconceived opinions concerning the supernatural origin of the Sacred Scripture, and interpret it not otherwise than other merely human documents.

13. The Evangelists themselves and the Christians of the second and third generation arranged (*digesserunt*) artificially the evangelical parables, and in this way gave an explanation of the scanty fruit of the preaching of Christ among the Jews.

14. In a great many narrations the Evangelists reported not so much things that are true as things which even though false they judged to be more profitable for their readers.

15. The Gospels until the time the canon was defined and constituted were increased by additions

and corrections; hence in them there remained of the doctrine of Christ only a faint and uncertain trace.

16. The narrations of John are not properly history, but the mystical contemplation of the Gospel; the discourses contained in his Gospel are theological meditations, devoid of historical truth, concerning the mystery of salvation.

17 The Fourth Gospel exaggerated miracles not only that the wonderful might stand out but also that they might become more suitable for signifying the work and the glory of the Word Incarnate.

18. John claims for himself the quality of a witness concerning Christ; but in reality he is only a distinguished witness of the Christian life, or of the life of Christ in the Church, at the close of the first century.

19. Heterodox exegetes have expressed the true sense of the Scriptures more faithfully than Catholic exegetes.

20. Revelation could be nothing but the consciousness acquired by man of his relation with God.

21. Revelation, constituting the object of Catholic faith, was not completed with the Apostles.

22. The dogmas which the Church gives out as revealed are not truths which have fallen down from heaven, but are an interpretation of religious facts, which the human mind has acquired by laborious efforts.

23. Opposition may and actually does exist between the facts which are narrated in Scripture and the dogmas of the Church which rest on them; so that the critic may reject as false facts which the Church holds as most certain.

24. The exegete is not to be blamed for constructing premises from which it follows that the dogmas are historically false or doubtful, provided he does not directly deny the dogmas themselves.

25. The assent of faith rests ultimately on a mass of probabilities.

26. The dogmas of faith are to be held only according to their practical sense, that is, as preceptive norms of conduct, but not as norms of believing.

27. The Divinity of Jesus Christ is not proved from the Gospels; but is a dogma which the Christian conscience has derived from the notion of the Messias.

28. Jesus, while He was exercising His ministry,

did not speak with the object of teaching that He was the Messias, nor did His miracles tend to prove this.

29. It is lawful to believe that the Christ of history is far inferior to the Christ who is the object of faith.

30. In all the evangelical texts the name *Son of God* is equivalent only to Messias, and does not at all signify that Christ is the true and natural Son of God.

31. The doctrine concerning Christ taught by Paul, John, the Councils of Nicea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, is not that which Jesus taught, but that which the Christian conscience conceived concerning Jesus.

32. It is not possible to reconcile the natural sense of the Gospel texts with the sense taught by our theologians concerning the conscience and the infallible knowledge of Jesus Christ.

33. It is evident to everybody who is not led by preconceived opinions that either Jesus professed an error concerning the immediate Messianic coming, or that the greater part of His doctrine as contained in the Gospels is destitute of authenticity.

34. The critic cannot ascribe to Christ a knowledge circumscribed by no limits except on a hypothesis

which cannot be historically conceived, and which is repugnant to the moral sense, viz., that Christ as man had the knowledge of God and yet was unwilling to communicate the knowledge of a great many things to His disciples and to posterity.

35. Christ had not always the consciousness of His Messianic dignity.

36. The Resurrection of the Saviour is not properly a fact of the historical order, but a fact of merely supernatural order neither demonstrated nor demonstrable, which the Christian conscience gradually derived from other facts.

37. Faith in the Resurrection of Christ was in the beginning not so much in the fact itself of the Resurrection, as in the immortal life of Christ with God.

38. The doctrine of the expiatory death of Christ is not Evangelical but Pauline.

39. The opinions concerning the origin of the sacraments with which the Fathers of Trent were imbued and which certainly influenced their dogmatic canons are very different from those which now rightly obtain among historians who examine into Christianity.

40. The sacraments had their origin in the fact that the Apostles and their successors, swayed and moved by circumstances and events, interpreted some idea and intention of Christ.

41. The sacraments are merely intended to bring before the mind of man the ever-beneficent presence of the Creator.

42. The Christian community imposed (*induxit*) the necessity of baptism, adopting it as a necessary rite, and adding to it the obligations of the Christian profession.

43. The practice of conferring baptism on infants was a disciplinary evolution, which became one of the causes why the sacrament was divided into two, viz., baptism and penance.

44. There is nothing to prove that the rite of the sacrament of confirmation was employed by the Apostles: but the formal distinction of the two sacraments, baptism and confirmation, does not belong to the history of primitive Christianity.

45. Not everything which Paul narrates concerning the institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 23-25) is to be taken historically.

46. In the primitive Church the conception of the

Christian sinner reconciled by the authority of the Church did not exist, but it was only very slowly that the Church accustomed itself to this conception. Nay, even after penance was recognised as an institution of the Church, it was not called a sacrament, for it would be held as an ignominious sacrament.

47. The words of the Lord: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained* (John xx. 22, 23) do not at all refer to the sacrament of penance, whatever the Fathers of Trent may have been pleased to say.

48. James in his Epistle (vv. 14 and 15) did not intend to promulgate a Sacrament of Christ, but to commend a pious custom, and if in this custom he happens to distinguish (*cernit*) a means of grace, it is not in that rigorous manner in which it was received by the theologians who laid down the notion and the number of the sacraments.

49. The Christian supper gradually assuming the nature of a liturgical action, those who were wont to preside at the Supper acquired the sacerdotal character.

50. The elders who filled the office of watching over the gatherings of the faithful, were instituted by the Apostles as priests or bishops to provide for the necessary ordering (*ordinationi*) of the increasing communities, not properly for perpetuating the Apostolic mission and power.

51. It is not possible that matrimony could have become a sacrament of the new Law until later in the Church; for in order that matrimony should be held as a sacrament it was necessary that a full theological development (*explicatio*) of the doctrine of grace and the sacraments should first take place.

52. It was foreign to the mind of Christ to found a Church as a Society which was to last on the earth for a long course of centuries; nay, in the mind of Christ the Kingdom of Heaven together with the end of the world was about to come immediately.

53. The organic constitution of the Church is not immutable; but Christian society like human society is subject to perpetual evolution.

54. Dogmas, sacraments, hierarchy, both as regards the notion of them and the reality, are but interpretations and evolutions of the Christian intelligence which by external increments have

increased and perfected the little germ latent in the Gospel.

55. Simon Peter never even suspected that the primacy in the Church was entrusted to him by Christ.

56. The Roman Church became the head of all the Churches not through the ordinance of Divine Providence but through merely political conditions.

57. The Church has shown herself to be hostile to the progress of natural and theological sciences.

58. Truth is not any more immutable than man himself, since it is evolved with him, in him, and through him.

59. Christ did not teach a determinate body of doctrine applicable to all times and to all men, but rather inaugurated a religious movement adapted or to be adapted for different times and places.

60. Christian doctrine in its origin was Judaic, but through successive evolutions became first Pauline, then Johannine, and finally Hellenic and universal.

61. It may be said without paradox that there is

no chapter of Scripture, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, which contains a doctrine absolutely identical with that which the Church teaches on the same matter, and that, therefore, no chapter in Scripture has the same sense for the critic and for the theologian.

62. The chief articles of the Apostolic Symbol had not for the Christians of the first ages the same sense that they have for the Christians of our time.

63. The Church shows itself unequal to the task of efficaciously maintaining evangelical ethics, because it obstinately adheres to immutable doctrines which cannot be reconciled with modern progress.

64. The progress of science requires a remodelling (*ut reformentur*) of the conceptions of Christian doctrine concerning God, Creation, Revelation, the Person of the Incarnate Word, Redemption.

65. Modern Catholicism cannot be reconciled with true science unless it be transformed into a non-dogmatic Christianity, that is into a broad and liberal Protestantism.

And on the following Thursday, the fourth day of the same month and year, an accurate report of all

this having been made to our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X., his Holiness approved and confirmed the Decree of the Most Eminent Fathers, and ordered that the propositions above enumerated, all and several, be held by all as condemned and proscribed.

PETER PALOMBELLI,
Notary of the H. R. U. I.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

(*"Pascendi Gregis"*)

Of our most Holy Lord, PIUS X., by Divine Providence Pope, on the Doctrines of the Modernists.

To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and other Local Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See.

POPE PIUS X.

VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND THE APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

ONE of the primary obligations assigned by Christ to the office divinely committed to Us of feeding the Lord's flock is that of guarding with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints, rejecting the profane novelties of words and the gainsaying of knowledge falsely so called. There has never been a time when this watchfulness of the supreme pastor was not necessary to the Catholic body; for, owing to the efforts of the enemy of the human race, there have never been lacking "men

speaking perverse things" (Acts xx. 30), "vain talkers and seducers" (Tit. i. 10), "erring and driving into error" (2 Tim. iii. 13). It must, however, be confessed that these latter days have witnessed a notable increase in the number of the enemies of the Cross of Christ, who, by arts entirely new and full of deceit, are striving to destroy the vital energy of the Church, and, as far as in them lies, utterly to subvert the very Kingdom of Christ. Wherefore We may no longer keep silence, lest We should seem to fail in Our most sacred duty, and lest the kindness that, in the hope of wiser counsels, We have hitherto shown them, should be set down to lack of diligence in the discharge of Our office.

[Gravity of the Situation.] *

That We should act without delay in this matter is made imperative especially by the fact that the partisans of error are to be sought not only among the Church's open enemies; but, what is to be most dreaded and deplored, in her very bosom, and are

* These headings in brackets are not in the original, and are inserted for the convenience of the reader.

the more mischievous the less they keep in the open. We allude, Venerable Brethren, to many who belong to the Catholic laity, and, what is much more sad, to the ranks of the priesthood itself, who, animated by a false zeal for the Church, lacking the solid safeguards of philosophy and theology, nay more, thoroughly imbued with the poisonous doctrines taught by the enemies of the Church, and lost to all sense of modesty, put themselves forward as reformers of the Church; and, forming more boldly into line of attack, assail all that is most sacred in the work of Christ, not sparing even the Person of the Divine Redeemer, Whom, with sacrilegious audacity, they degrade to the condition of a simple and ordinary man.

Although they express their astonishment that We should number them amongst the enemies of the Church, no one will be reasonably surprised that We should do so, if, leaving out of account the internal disposition of the soul, of which God alone is the Judge, he considers their tenets, their manner of speech, and their action. Nor indeed would he be wrong in regarding them as the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church. For, as We have

said, they put into operation their designs for her undoing, not from without but from within. Hence, the danger is present almost in the very veins and heart of the Church, whose injury is the more certain from the very fact that their knowledge of her is more intimate. Moreover, they lay the axe not to the branches and shoots, but to the very root, that is, to the faith and its deepest fibres. And once having struck at this root of immortality, they proceed to diffuse poison through the whole tree, so that there is no part of Catholic truth which they leave untouched, none that they do not strive to corrupt. Further, none is more skilful, none more astute than they, in the employment of a thousand noxious devices; for they play the double part of rationalist and Catholic, and this so craftily that they easily lead the unwary into error; and as audacity is their chief characteristic, there is no conclusion of any kind from which they shrink or which they do not thrust forward with pertinacity and assurance. To this must be added the fact, which indeed is well calculated to deceive souls, that they lead a life of the greatest activity, of assiduous and ardent application to every branch of learning, and that they possess,

as a rule, a reputation for irreproachable morality. Finally, there is the fact which is all but fatal to the hope of cure that their very doctrines have given such a bent to their minds, that they disdain all authority and brook no restraint; and relying upon a false conscience, they attempt to ascribe to a love of truth that which is in reality the result of pride and obstinacy.

Once indeed We had hopes of recalling them to a better mind, and to this end We first of all treated them with kindness as Our children, then with severity; and at last We have had recourse, though with great reluctance, to public reproof. It is known to you, Venerable Brethren, how unavailing have been our efforts. For a moment they have bowed their head, only to lift it more arrogantly than before. If it were a matter which concerned them alone, We might perhaps have overlooked it; but the security of the Catholic name is at stake. Wherefore We must interrupt a silence which it would be criminal to prolong, that We may point out to the whole Church, as they really are, men who are badly disguised.

[Division of the Encyclical.]

It is one of the cleverest devices of the Modernists (as they are commonly and rightly called) to present their doctrines without order and systematic arrangement, in a scattered and disjointed manner, so as to make it appear as if their minds were in doubt or hesitation, whereas in reality they are quite fixed and steadfast. For this reason it will be of advantage, Venerable Brethren, to bring their teachings together here into one group, and to point out their interconnection, and thus to pass to an examination of the sources of the errors, and to prescribe remedies for averting the evil results

[PART I.: ANALYSIS OF MODERNIST TEACHING.]

To proceed in an orderly manner in this somewhat abstruse subject it must first of all be noted that the Modernist sustains and includes within himself a manifold personality; he is a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, an historian, a critic, an apologist, a

reformer. These roles must be clearly distinguished one from another by all who would accurately understand their system and thoroughly grasp the principles and the outcome of their doctrines.

[Agnosticism its Philosophical Foundation.]

We begin, then, with the philosopher. Modernists place the foundation of religious philosophy in that doctrine which is commonly called *Agnosticism*. According to this teaching human reason is confined entirely within the field of *phenomena*, that is to say, to things that appear, and in the manner in which they appear: it has neither the right nor the power to overstep these limits. Hence it is incapable of lifting itself up to God, and of recognising His existence, even by means of visible things. From this it is inferred that God can never be the direct object of science, and that, as regards history, He must not be considered as an historical subject. Given these premises, every one will at once perceive what becomes of *Natural Theology*, of the *motives of credibility*, of *external*

revelation. The Modernists simply sweep them entirely aside; they include them in *Intellectualism* which they denounce as a system which is ridiculous and long since defunct. Nor does the fact that the Church has formally condemned these portentous errors exercise the slightest restraint upon them. Yet the Vatican Council has defined, "If anyone says that the one true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason by means of the things that are made, let him be anathema;" * and also: "If anyone says that it is not possible or not expedient that man be taught, through the medium of divine revelation, about God and the worship to be paid Him, let him be anathema;" † and finally, "If anyone says that divine revelation cannot be made credible by external signs, and that therefore men should be drawn to the faith only by their personal internal experience or by private inspiration, let him be anathema." ‡ It may be asked, in what way do the Modernists contrive to make the transition from *Agnosticism*, which is a

* *De Revel.* can. 1. † *Ibid.*, can. 2.
‡ *De Fide.*, can. 3.

state of pure nescience, to scientific and historic *Atheism*, which is a doctrine of positive denial; and consequently, by what legitimate process of reasoning, they proceed from the fact of ignorance as to whether God has in fact intervened in the history of the human race or not, to explain this history, leaving God out altogether, as if He really had not intervened. Let him answer who can. Yet it is a fixed and established principle among them that both science and history must be atheistic: and within their boundaries there is room for nothing but *phenomena;* God and all that is divine are utterly excluded. We shall soon see clearly what, as a consequence of this most absurd teaching, must be held touching the most sacred Person of Christ, and the mysteries of His life and death, and of His Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven.

[Vital Immanence.]

However, this *Agnosticism* is only the negative part of the system of the Modernists: the positive part consists in what they call *vital immanence.*

Thus they advance from one to the other. Religion, whether natural or supernatural, must, like every other fact, admit of some explanation. But when natural theology has been destroyed, and the road to revelation closed by the rejection of the arguments of credibility, and all external revelation absolutely denied, it is clear that this explanation will be sought in vain outside of man himself. It must, therefore, be looked for *in* man; and since religion is a form of life, the explanation must certainly be found in the life of man. In this way is formulated the principle of *religious immanence*. Moreover, the first actuation, so to speak, of every vital phenomenon—and religion, as noted above, belongs to this category—is due to a certain need or impulsion; but speaking more particularly of life, it has its origin in a movement of the heart, which movement is called a *sense*. Therefore, as God is the object of religion, we must conclude that faith, which is the basis and foundation of all religion, must consist in a certain interior sense, originating in a need of the divine. This need of the divine, which is experienced only in special and favourable circumstances, cannot, of itself, appertain to the

domain of consciousness,* but is first latent beneath consciousness, or, to borrow a term from modern philosophy, in the *subconsciousness*, where also its root lies hidden and undetected.

It may perhaps be asked how it is that this need of the divine which man experiences within himself resolves itself into religion? To this question the Modernist reply would be as follows: Science and history are confined within two boundaries, the one external, namely, the visible world, the other internal, which is consciousness. When one or other of these limits has been reached, there can be no further progress, for beyond is the *unknowable*. In presence of this *unknowable*, whether it is outside man and beyond the visible world of nature, or lies hidden within the *subconsciousness*, the need of the divine in a soul which is prone to religion, excites—according to the principles of *Fideism*, without any previous advertence of the mind—a certain special *sense*, and this sense possesses, implied within itself both as its own object and as its intrinsic

*[In the Latin text the word is *conscientia*, which may be rendered in English as "conscience" or "consciousness," and in the present translation it is so used as the context seems to require.—*Translator's note.*]

cause, the divine *reality* itself, and in a way unites man with God. It is this *sense* to which Modernists give the name of faith, and this is what they hold to be the beginning of religion.

But we have not yet reached the end of their philosophising, or, to speak more accurately, of their folly. Modernists find in this *sense*, not only faith, but in and with faith, as they understand it, they affirm that there is also to be found *revelation*. For, indeed, what more is needed to constitute a revelation? Is not that religious *sense* which is perceptible in the conscience, revelation, or at least the beginning of revelation? Nay, is it not God Himself manifesting Himself, indistinctly, it is true, in this same religious *sense*, to the soul? And they add: Since God is both the object and the cause of faith, this revelation is at the same time *of* God and *from* God, that is to say, God is both the Revealer and the Revealed.

From this, Venerable Brethren, springs that most absurd tenet of the Modernists, that every religion, according to the different aspect under which it is viewed, must be considered as both natural and supernatural. It is thus that they

make consciousness and revelation synonymous. From this they derive the law laid down as the universal standard, according to which *religious consciousness* is to be put on an equal footing with revelation, and that to it all must submit, even the supreme authority of the Church, whether in the capacity of teacher, or in that of legislator in the province of sacred liturgy or discipline.

[Deformation of Religious History—the Consequence.]

In all this process, from which, according to the Modernists, faith and revelation spring, one point is to be particularly noted, for it is of capital importance on account of the historico-critical corollaries which they deduce from it. The *Unknowable* they speak of does not present itself to faith as something solitary and isolated; but on the contrary in close conjunction with some phenomenon, which, though it belongs to the realms of science or history, yet to some extent exceeds their limits. Such a phenomenon may be a fact of nature containing within itself something mysterious; or it may be

a man, whose character, actions and words cannot, apparently, be reconciled with the ordinary laws of history. Then faith, attracted by the *Unknowable* which is united with the phenomenon, seizes upon the whole phenomenon, and, as it were, permeates it with its own life. From this two things follow. The first is a sort of *transfiguration* of the phenomenon by its elevation above its own true conditions, an elevation by which it becomes more adapted to clothe itself with the form of the divine character which faith will bestow upon it. The second consequence is a certain *disfiguration*—so it may be called—of the same phenomenon, arising from the fact that faith attributes to it, when stripped of the circumstances of place and time, characteristics which it does not really possess; and this takes place especially in the case of the phenomena of the past, and the more fully in the measure of their antiquity. From these two principles the Modernists deduce two laws, which, when united with a third which they have already derived from agnosticism, constitute the foundation of historic criticism. An example may be sought in the Person of Christ. In the Person of Christ, they

say, science and history encounter nothing that is not human. Therefore, in virtue of the first canon deduced from agnosticism, whatever there is in His history suggestive of the divine, must be rejected. Then, according to the second canon, the historical Person of Christ was *transfigured* by faith; therefore everything that raises it above historical conditions must be removed. Lastly, the third canon, which lays down that the Person of Christ has been *disfigured* by faith, requires that everything should be excluded, deeds and words and all else, that is not in strict keeping with His character, condition, and education, and with the place and time in which He lived. A method of reasoning which is passing strange, but in it we have the Modernist criticism.

It is thus that the *religious sense*, which through the agency of *vital immanence* emerges from the lurking-places of the *subconsciousness*, is the germ of all religion, and the explanation of everything that has been or ever will be in any religion. This *sense*, which was at first only rudimentary and almost formless, under the influence of that mysterious principle from which it originated, gradually matured

with the progress of human life, of which, as has been said, it is a certain form. This, then, is the origin of all, even of supernatural religion. For religions are mere developments of this *religious sense*. Nor is the Catholic religion an exception; it is quite on a level with the rest; for it was engendered, by the process of *vital immanence*, and by no other way, in the consciousness of Christ, who was a man of the choicest nature, whose like has never been, nor will be. In hearing these things we shudder indeed at so great an audacity of assertion and so great a sacrilege. And yet, Venerable Brethren, these are not merely the foolish babblings of unbelievers. There are Catholics, yea, and priests too, who say these things openly; and they boast that they are going to reform the Church by these ravings! The question is no longer one of the old error which claimed for human nature a sort of right to the supernatural. It has gone far beyond that, and has reached the point when it is affirmed that our most holy religion, in the man Christ as in us, emanated from nature spontaneously and of itself. Nothing assuredly could be more utterly destructive of the whole supernatural order. For this reason the Vatican Council most

justly decreed: "If anyone says that man cannot be raised by God to a knowledge and perfection which surpasses nature, but that he can and should, by his own efforts and by a constant development, attain finally to the possession of all truth and good, let him be anathema." *

[The Origin of Dogmas.]

So far, Venerable Brethren, there has been no mention of the intellect. It also, according to the teaching of the Modernists, has its part in the act of faith. And it is of importance to see how. In that *sense* of which We have frequently spoken, since *sense* is not knowledge, they say God, indeed, presents Himself to man, but in a manner so confused and indistinct that He can hardly be perceived by the believer. It is therefore necessary that a certain light should be cast upon this sense so that God may clearly stand out in relief and be set apart from it. This is the task of the intellect, whose office it is to reflect and to analyse; and by means of it, man first transforms into mental pictures the vital phenomena

* *De Revel.*, can. 3.

which arise within him, and then expresses them in words. Hence the common saying of Modernists: that the religious man must *think* his faith. The mind then, encountering this *sense*, throws itself upon it, and works in it after the manner of a painter who restores to greater clearness the lines of a picture that have been dimmed with age. The simile is that of one of the leaders of Modernism. The operation of the mind in this work is a double one: first, by a natural and spontaneous act it expresses its concept in a simple, popular statement; then, on reflection and deeper consideration, or, as they say, *by elaborating its thought*, it expresses the idea in *secondary* propositions, which are derived from the first, but are more precise and distinct. These *secondary* propositions, if they finally receive the approval of the supreme magisterium of the Church, constitute *dogma*.

We have thus reached one of the principal points in the Modernists' system, namely, the origin and the nature of dogma. For they place the origin of dogma in those primitive and simple formulæ, which, under a certain aspect, are necessary to faith; for revelation, to be truly such, requires the clear knowledge of God

in the consciousness. But dogma itself, they apparently hold, strictly consists in the *secondary* formulæ.

To ascertain the nature of dogma, we must first find the relation which exists between the *religious formulas* and the *religious sense.* This will be readily perceived by anyone who holds that these *formulas* have no other purpose than to furnish the believer with a means of giving to himself an account of his faith. These formulas therefore stand midway between the believer and his faith; in their relation to the faith they are the inadequate expression of its object, and are usually called *symbols ;* in their relation to the believer they are mere *instruments.*

[Its Evolution.]

Hence it is quite impossible to maintain that they absolutely contain the truth: for, in so far as they are *symbols,* they are the images of truth, and so must be adapted to the religious sense in its relation to man; and as *instruments,* they are the vehicles of truth, and must therefore in their turn be adapted to man in his relation to the religious sense. But

the object of the *religious sense*, as something contained in the *absolute*, possesses an infinite variety of aspects, of which now one, now another, may present itself. In like manner he who believes can avail himself of varying conditions. Consequently, the formulæ which we call dogma must be subject to these vicissitudes, and are, therefore, liable to change. Thus the way is open to the intrinsic *evolution* of dogma. Here we have an immense structure of sophisms which ruin and wreck all religion. Dogma is not only able, but ought to evolve and to be changed. This is strongly affirmed by the Modernists, and clearly flows from their principles. For amongst the chief points of their teaching is the following, which they deduce from the principle of *vital immanence*, namely, that *religious formulas*, if they are to be really *religious* and not merely intellectual speculations, ought to be living and to live the life of the *religious sense*. This is not to be understood to mean that these formulas, especially if merely imaginative, were to be invented for the religious sense. Their origin matters nothing, any more than their number or quality. What is necessary is that the *religious sense*—with some

modification when needful—should vitally assimilate them. In other words, it is necessary that the *primitive formula* be accepted and sanctioned by the heart; and similarly the subsequent work from which are brought forth the *secondary formulas* must proceed under the guidance of the heart. Hence it comes that these formulas, in order to be living, should be, and should remain, adapted to the faith and to him who believes. Wherefore, if for any reason this adaptation should cease to exist, they lose their first meaning and accordingly need to be changed. In view of the fact that the character and lot of dogmatic formulas are so unstable, it is no wonder that Modernists should regard them so lightly and in such open disrespect, and have no consideration or praise for anything but the religious sense and for the religious life. In this way, with consummate audacity, they criticise the Church, as having strayed from the true path by failing to distinguish between the religious and moral sense of formulas and their surface meaning, and by clinging vainly and tenaciously to meaningless formulas, while religion itself is allowed to go to ruin. "Blind" they are, and "leaders of the blind" puffed up with

the proud name of science, they have reached that pitch of folly at which they pervert the eternal concept of truth and the true meaning of religion; in introducing a new system in which "they are seen to be under the sway of a blind and unchecked passion for novelty, thinking not at all of finding some solid foundation of truth, but despising the holy and apostolic traditions, they embrace other and vain, futile, uncertain doctrines, unapproved by the Church, on which, in the height of their vanity, they think they can base and maintain truth itself." *

[The Modernist as Believer: Individual Experience and Religious Certitude.]

Thus far, Venerable Brethren, We have considered the Modernist as a Philosopher. Now if we proceed to consider him as a believer, and seek to know how the believer, according to Modernism, is marked off from the Philosopher, it must be observed that, although the Philosopher recognises the *reality of the divine* as the object of faith, still this *reality* is not to be found by him but in the heart of the

* Gregory XVI., Encycl. *Singulari Nos*, 7 Kal. Jul. 1834.

believer, as an object of feeling and affirmation, and therefore confined within the sphere of phenomena; but the question as to whether in itself it exists outside that feeling and affirmation is one which the Philosopher passes over and neglects. For the Modernist believer, on the contrary, it is an established and certain fact that the *reality* of the divine does really exist in itself and quite independently of the person who believes in it. If you ask on what foundation this assertion of the believer rests, he answers: In the personal *experience* of the individual. On this head the Modernists differ from the Rationalists only to fall into the views of the Protestants and pseudo-Mystics. The following is their manner of stating the question: In *the religious sense* one must recognise a kind of intuition of the heart which puts man in immediate contact with the *reality* of God, and infuses such a persuasion of God's existence and His action both within and without man as far to exceed any scientific conviction. They assert, therefore, the existence of a real experience, and one of a kind that surpasses all rational experience. If this experience is denied by some, like the Rationalists, they say

that this arises from the fact that such persons are unwilling to put themselves in the moral state necessary to produce it. It is this *experience* which makes the person who acquires it to be properly and truly a believer.

How far this position is removed from that of Catholic teaching! We have already seen how its fallacies have been condemned by the Vatican Council. Later on, we shall see how these errors, combined with those which we have already mentioned, open wide the way to Atheism. Here it is well to note at once that, given this doctrine of *experience* united with that of *symbolism*, every religion, even that of paganism, must be held to be true. What is to prevent such experiences from being found in any religion? In fact, that they are so is maintained by not a few. On what grounds can Modernists deny the truth of an experience affirmed by a follower of Islam? Will they claim a monopoly of true experiences for Catholics alone? Indeed, Modernists do not deny, but actually maintain, some confusedly, others frankly, that all religions are true. That they cannot feel otherwise is obvious. For on what ground, according

to their theories, could falsity be predicated of any religion whatsoever? Certainly it would be either on account of the falsity of the *religious sense* or on account of the falsity of the formula pronounced by the mind. Now the *religious sense*, although it may be more perfect or less perfect, is always one and the same; and the intellectual formula, in order to be true, has but to respond to the *religious sense* and to the believer, whatever be the intellectual capacity of the latter. In the conflict between different religions, the most that Modernists can maintain is that the Catholic has more truth because it is more vivid, and that it deserves with more reason the name of Christian because it corresponds more fully with the origins of Christianity. No one will find it unreasonable that these consequences flow from the premises. But what is most amazing is that there are Catholics and priests, who, We would fain believe, abhor such enormities, and yet act as if they fully approved of them. For they lavish such praise and bestow such public honour on the teachers of these errors as to convey the belief that their admiration is not meant merely for the persons, who are perhaps not devoid of a

certain merit, but rather for the sake of the errors which these persons openly profess and which they do all in their power to propagate.

[Religious Experience and Tradition.]

There is yet another element in this part of their teaching which is absolutely contrary to Catholic truth. For what is laid down as to *experience* is also applied with destructive effect to *tradition*, which has always been maintained by the Catholic Church. Tradition, as understood by the Modernists, is a communication with others of an *original experience*, through preaching by means of the intellectual formula. To this formula, in addition to its *representative* value, they attribute a species of *suggestive* efficacy which acts firstly in the believer by stimulating the *religious sense*, should it happen to have grown sluggish, and by renewing the *experience* once acquired, and secondly, in those who do not yet believe by awakening in them for the first time the *religious sense* and producing the *experience*. In this way is religious experience spread abroad among the nations; and not merely among

contemporaries by preaching, but among future generations both by books and by oral transmission from one to another. Sometimes this communication of religious experience takes root and thrives, at other times it withers at once and dies. For the Modernists, to live is a proof of truth, since for them life and truth are one and the same thing. Thus we are once more led to infer that all existing religions are equally true, for otherwise they would not survive.

[Faith and Science.]

We have proceeded sufficiently far, Venerable Brethren, to have before us enough, and more than enough, to enable us to see what are the relations which Modernists establish between faith and science—including, as they are wont to do under that name, history. And in the first place it is to be held that the object-matter of the one is quite extraneous to and separate from the object-matter of the other. For faith occupies itself solely with something which science declares to be for it *unknowable.* Hence each has a separate scope

assigned to it: science is entirely concerned with phenomena, into which faith does not at all enter; faith, on the contrary, concerns itself with the divine, which is entirely unknown to science. Thus it is contended that there can never be any dissension between faith and science, for if each keeps on its own ground they can never meet and therefore never can be in contradiction. And if it be objected that in the visible world there are some things which appertain to faith, such as the human life of Christ, the Modernists reply by denying this. For though such things come within the category of phenomena, still in as far as they are *lived* by faith and in the way already described have been by faith *transfigured* and *disfigured*, they have been removed from the world of sense and transferred into material for the divine. Hence should it be further asked whether Christ has wrought real miracles, and made real prophecies, whether He rose truly from the dead and ascended into Heaven, the answer of agnostic science will be in the negative and the answer of faith in the affirmative—yet there will not be, on that account, any conflict between them. For it will be denied by

the philosopher as a philosopher speaking to philosophers and considering Christ only in His *historical reality;* and it will be affirmed by the believer as a believer speaking to believers and considering the life of Christ as *lived again* by the faith and in the faith.

[Faith Subject to Science.]

It would be a great mistake, nevertheless, to suppose that, according to these theories, one is allowed to believe that faith and science are entirely independent of each other. On the side of science that is indeed quite true and correct, but it is quite otherwise with regard to faith, which is subject to science, not on one but on three grounds. For in the first place it must be observed that in every religious fact, when one takes away the *divine reality* and the *experience* of it which the believer possesses, everything else, and especially the *religious formulas*, belongs to the sphere of phenomena and therefore falls under the control of science. Let the believer go out of the world if he will, but so long as he remains in it, whether he like it or not,

he cannot escape from the laws, the observation, the judgments of science and of history. Further, although it is contended that God is the object of faith alone, the statement refers only to the *divine reality*, not to the *idea* of God. The latter also is subject to science which, while it philosophises in what is called the logical order, soars also to the absolute and the ideal. It is therefore the right of philosophy and of science to form its knowledge concerning the idea of God, to direct it in its evolution and to purify it of any extraneous elements which may have entered into it. Hence we have the Modernist axiom that the religious evolution ought to be brought into accord with the moral and intellectual, or as one whom they regard as their leader has expressed it, ought to be subject to it. Finally, man does not suffer a dualism to exist in himself, and the believer therefore feels within him an impelling need so to harmonise faith with science that it may never oppose the general conception which science sets forth concerning the universe.

Thus it is evident that science is to be entirely independent of faith, while on the other hand,

and notwithstanding that they are supposed to be strangers to each other, faith is made subject to science. All this, Venerable Brothers, is in formal opposition to the teachings of Our Predecessor, Pius IX., where he lays it down that: "In matters of religion it is the duty of philosophy not to command but to serve, not to prescribe what is to be believed, but to embrace what is to be believed with reasonable obedience, not to scrutinise the depths of the mysteries of God, but to venerate them devoutly and humbly." *

The Modernists completely invert the parts, and to them may be applied the words which another of Our Predecessors, Gregory IX., addressed to some theologians of his time: "Some among you, puffed up like bladders with the spirit of vanity, strive by profane novelties to cross the boundaries fixed by the Fathers, twisting the meaning of the sacred text . . . to the philosophical teaching of the rationalists, not for the profit of their hearer but to make a show of science . . . these men, led away by various and strange doctrines, turn the

* Brief to the Bishop of Wratislau, June 15th, 1857.

head into the tail and force the queen to serve the handmaid." *

[The Methods of Modernists.]

This will appear more clearly to anybody who studies the conduct of Modernists, which is in perfect harmony with their teachings. In their writings and addresses they seem not unfrequently to advocate doctrines which are contrary one to the other, so that one would be disposed to regard their attitude as double and doubtful. But this is done deliberately and advisedly, and the reason of it is to be found in their opinion as to the mutual separation of science and faith. Thus in their books one finds some things which might well be approved by a Catholic, but on turning over the page one is confronted by other things which might well have been dictated by a rationalist. When they write history they make no mention of the divinity of Christ, but when they are in the pulpit they profess it clearly; again, when they are dealing with history they take no account of the Fathers and the Councils, but when they catechise

* Ep. ad Magistros theol. Paris, non Jul. 1223 [*sic*].

the people, they cite them respectfully. In the same way they draw their distinctions between exegesis which is theological and pastoral and exegesis which is scientific and historical. So, too, when they treat of philosophy, history, and criticism, acting on the principle that science in no way depends upon faith, they feel no especial horror in treading in the footsteps of Luther * and are wont to display a manifold contempt for Catholic doctrines, for the Holy Fathers, for the Œcumenical Councils, for the ecclesiastical Magisterium; and should they be taken to task for this, they complain that they are being deprived of their liberty. Lastly, maintaining the theory that faith must be subject to science, they continuously and openly rebuke the Church on the ground that she resolutely refuses to submit and accommodate her dogmas to the opinions of philosophy; while they, on their side, having for this purpose blotted out the old theology, endeavour to

* Prop. 29 damn. a Leone X. Bull, *Exsurge Domine* 16 maii 1520. *Via nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et iudicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocumque Concilio.*

introduce a new theology which shall support the aberrations of philosophers.

[The Modernist as Theologian: His Principles, Immanence and Symbolism.]

At this point, Venerable Brethren, the way is opened for us to consider the Modernists in the theological arena—a difficult task, yet one that may be disposed of briefly. It is a question of effecting the conciliation of faith with science, but always by making the one subject to the other. In this matter the Modernist theologian takes exactly the same principles which we have seen employed by the Modernist philosopher—the principles of *immanence* and *symbolism*—and applies them to the believer. The process is an extremely simple one. The philosopher has declared: *The principle of faith is immanent;* the believer has added: *This principle is God;* and the theologian draws the conclusion: *God is immanent in man.* Thus we have *theological immanence.* So too, the philosopher regards it as certain that *the representations of the object of faith are merely symbolical;* the believer has likewise

affirmed that *the object of faith is God in himself;* and the theologian proceeds to affirm that: *The representations of the divine reality are symbolical.* And thus we have *theological symbolism.* These errors are truly of the gravest kind and the pernicious character of both will be seen clearly from an examination of their consequences. For, to begin with *symbolism,* since symbols are but symbols in regard to their objects and only instruments in regard to the believer, it is necessary first of all, according to the teachings of the Modernists, that the believer do not lay too much stress on the formula, as formula, but avail himself of it only for the purpose of uniting himself to the absolute truth which the formula at once reveals and conceals, that is to say, endeavours to express but without ever succeeding in doing so. They would also have the believer make use of the formulas only in as far as they are helpful to him, for they are given to be a help and not a hindrance; with proper regard, however, for the social respect due to formulas which the public magisterium has deemed suitable for expressing the common consciousness until such time as the same magisterium shall provide otherwise. Concerning *immanence* it is not easy to

determine what Modernists precisely mean by it, for their own opinions on the subject vary. Some understand it in the sense that God working in man is more intimately present in him than man is even in himself; and this conception, if properly understood, is irreproachable. Others hold that the divine action is one with the action of nature, as the action of the first cause is one with the action of the secondary cause; and this would destroy the supernatural order. Others, finally, explain it in a way which savours of pantheism, and this, in truth, is the sense which best fits in with the rest of their doctrines.

With this principle of *immanence* is connected another which may be called the principle of *divine permanence*. It differs from the first in much the same way as the private *experience* differs from the *experience* transmitted by tradition. An example illustrating what is meant will be found in the Church and the Sacraments. The Church and the Sacraments, according to the Modernists, are not to be regarded as having been instituted by Christ Himself. This is barred by agnosticism, which recognises in Christ nothing more than a man whose religious consciousness has been, like that of all men, formed by degrees; it is also barred by

the law of immanence, which rejects what they call external *application ;* it is further barred by the law of evolution, which requires for the development of the germs, time and a certain series of circumstances; it is, finally, barred by history, which shows that such in fact has been the course of things. Still it is to be held that both Church and Sacraments have been founded *mediately* by Christ. But how? In this way: All Christian consciences were, they affirm, in a manner virtually included in the conscience of Christ, as the plant is included in the seed. But as the branches live the life of the seed, so, too, all Christians are to be said to live the life of Christ. But the life of Christ, according to faith, is divine, and so, too, is the life of Christians. And if this life produced, in the course of ages, both the Church and the Sacraments, it is quite right to say that their origin is from Christ and is divine. In the same way they make out that the Holy Scriptures and the dogmas are divine. And in this, the Modernist theology may be said to reach its completion. A slender provision, in truth, but more than enough for the theologian who professes that the conclusions of science, whatever they may be, must always be accepted! No one will have any

difficulty in making the application of these theories to the other points with which We propose to deal.

[Dogma and the Sacraments.]

Thus far We have touched upon the origin and nature of faith. But as faith has many branches, and chief among them the Church, dogma, worship, devotions, the Books which we call "Sacred," it concerns us to know what do the Modernists teach concerning them. To begin with dogma, We have already indicated its origin and nature. Dogma is born of a sort of impulse or necessity by virtue of which the believer elaborates his thought so as to render it clearer to his own conscience and that of others. This elaboration consists entirely in the process of investigating and refining the primitive mental *formula*, not indeed in itself and according to any logical explanation, but according to circumstances, or *vitally* as the Modernists somewhat less intelligibly describe it. Hence it happens that around this *primitive* formula *secondary* formulas, as we have already indicated, gradually continue to be formed,

and these subsequently grouped into one body, or one doctrinal construction, and further sanctioned by the public magisterium as responding to the common consciousness, are called dogma. Dogma is to be carefully distinguished from the speculations of theologians which, although not alive with the life of dogma, are not without their utility as serving both to harmonise religion with science and to remove opposition between them, and to illumine and defend religion from without, and it may be even to prepare the matter for future dogma. Concerning worship there would not be much to be said, were it not that under this head are comprised the Sacraments, concerning which the Modernist errors are of the most serious character. For them the Sacraments are the resultant of a double impulse or need—for, as we have seen, everything in their system is explained by inner impulses or necessities. The first need is that of giving some sensible manifestation to religion; the second is that of expressing it, which could not be done without some sensible form and consecrating acts, and these are called Sacraments. But for the Modernists, Sacraments are bare symbols or signs, though not devoid of a certain efficacy—an efficacy,

they tell us, like that of certain phrases vulgarly described as having caught the popular ear, inasmuch as they have the power of putting certain leading ideas into circulation, and of making a marked impression upon the mind. What the phrases are to the ideas, that the Sacraments are to the religious sense, that and nothing more. The Modernists would express their mind more clearly were they to affirm that the Sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith—but this is condemned by the Council of Trent: *If anyone say that these Sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith, let him be anathema.**

[The Holy Scriptures.]

We have already touched upon the nature and origin of the Sacred Books. According to the principles of the Modernists they may be rightly described as a summary of *experiences*, not indeed of the kind that may now and again come to anybody, but those extraordinary and striking experiences which are the possession of every religion. And this is precisely

* *Sess. VII. de Sacramentis in genere*, can. 5.

what they teach about our books of the Old and New Testament. But to suit their own theories they note with remarkable ingenuity that, although experience is something belonging to the present, still it may draw its material in like manner from the past and the future, inasmuch as the believer by memory *lives* the past over again after the manner of *the present*, and lives the future already by anticipation. This explains how it is that the historical and apocalyptic books are included among the Sacred Writings. God does indeed speak in these books through the medium of the believer, but according to Modernist theology, only by *immanence* and *vital permanence*. We may ask, what then becomes of inspiration? Inspiration, they reply, is in nowise distinguished from that impulse which stimulates the believer to reveal the faith that is in him by words or writing, except perhaps by its vehemence. It is something like that which happens in poetical inspiration, of which it has been said: There is a God in us, and when He stirreth He sets us afire. It is in this sense that God is said to be the origin of the inspiration of the Sacred Books. The Modernists moreover affirm concerning this inspiration, that there is

nothing in the Sacred Books which is devoid of it. In this respect some might be disposed to consider them as more orthodox than certain writers in recent times who somewhat restrict inspiration, as, for instance, in what have been put forward as so-called *tacit citations*. But in all this we have mere verbal conjuring. For if we take the Bible, according to the standards of agnosticism, namely, as a human work, made by men for men, albeit the theologian is allowed to proclaim that it is divine by *immanence*, what room is there left in it for inspiration? The Modernists assert a general inspiration of the Sacred Books, but they admit no inspiration in the Catholic sense.

[The Church.]

A wider field for comment is opened when we come to what the Modernist school has imagined to be the nature of the Church. They begin with the supposition that the Church has its birth in a double need; first, the need of the individual believer to communicate his faith to others, especially if he has had some original and special experience, and secondly,

when the faith has become common to many, the need of the *collectivity* to form itself into a society and to guard, promote, and propagate the common good. What, then, is the Church? It is the product of the *collective conscience*, that is to say of the association of individual consciences which by virtue of the principle of *vital permanence*, depend all on one first believer, who for Catholics is Christ. Now every society needs a directing authority to guide its members towards the common end, to foster prudently the elements of cohesion, which in a religious society are doctrine and worship. Hence the triple authority in the Catholic Church, *disciplinary*, *dogmatic*, *liturgical*. The nature of this authority is to be gathered from its origin, and its rights and duties from its nature. In past times it was a common error that authority came to the Church from without, that is to say directly from, God; and it was then rightly held to be *autocratic*. But this conception has now grown obsolete. For in the same way as the Church is a vital emanation of the collectivity of consciences, so too authority emanates vitally from the Church itself. Authority, therefore, like the Church, has its origin in the religious con-

science, and, that being so, is subject to it. Should it disown this dependence it becomes a tyranny. For we are living in an age when the sense of liberty has reached its highest development. In the civil order the public conscience has introduced popular government. Now there is in man only one conscience, just as there is only one life. It is for the ecclesiastical authority, therefore, to adopt a democratic form, unless it wishes to provoke and foment an intestine conflict in the consciences of mankind. The penalty of refusal is disaster. For it is madness to think that the sentiment of liberty, as it now obtains, can recede. Were it forcibly pent up and held in bonds, the more terrible would be its outburst, sweeping away at once both Church and religion. Such is the situation in the minds of the Modernists, and their one great anxiety is, in consequence, to find a way of conciliation between the authority of the Church and the liberty of the believers.

[The Relations between Church and State.]

But it is not only within her own household that the Church must come to terms. Besides her re-

lations with those within, she has others with those who are outside. The Church does not occupy the world all by herself; there are other societies in the world, with which she must necessarily have dealings and contact. The rights and duties of the Church towards civil societies must, therefore, be determined, and determined, of course, by her own nature, that to wit, which the Modernists have already described to us. The rules to be applied in this matter are clearly those which have been laid down for science and faith, though in the latter case the question turned upon the *object*, while in the present case we have one of *ends*. In the same way, then, as faith and science are alien to each other by reason of the diversity of their *objects*, Church and State are strangers by reason of the diversity of their ends, that of the Church being spiritual while that of the State is temporal. Formerly it was possible to subordinate the temporal to the spiritual and to speak of some questions as *mixed*, conceding to the Church the position of queen and mistress in all such, because the Church was then regarded as having been instituted immediately by God as the author of the supernatural order. But this doctrine is to-day

repudiated alike by philosophers and historians. The State must, therefore, be separated from the Church, and the Catholic from the citizen. Every Catholic, from the fact that he is also a citizen, has the right and the duty to work for the common good in the way he thinks best, without troubling himself about the authority of the Church, without paying any heed to its wishes, its counsels, its orders—nay, even in spite of its rebukes. For the Church to trace out and prescribe for the citizen any line of action, on any pretext whatsoever, is to be guilty of an abuse of authority, against which one is bound to protest with all one's might. Venerable Brethren, the principles from which these doctrines spring have been solemnly condemned by Our Predecessor, Pius VI., in his Apostolic Constitution *Auctorem fidei*.*

* Prop. 2. Propositio, quae statuit, potestatem a Deo datam Ecclesiae ut communicaretur Pastoribus, qui sunt eius ministri pro salute animarum ; sic intellecta, ut a communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas : haeretica.—Prop 3. Insuper, quae statuit Romanum Pontificem esse caput ministeriale ; sic explicata ut Romanus Pontifex non a Christo in persona beati Petri, sed ab Ecclesia potestatem ministerii accipiat, qua velut Petri successor, verus Christi vicarius ac totius Ecclesiae caput pollet in universa Ecclesia : haeretica.

[The Magisterium of the Church.]

But it is not enough for the Modernist school that the State should be separated from the Church. For as faith is to be subordinated to science as far as phenomenal elements are concerned, so too in temporal matters the Church must be subject to the State. This, indeed, Modernists may not yet say openly, but they are forced by the logic of their position to admit it. For granted the principle that in temporal matters the State possesses the sole power, it will follow that when the believer, not satisfied with merely internal acts of religion, proceeds to external acts—such for instance as the reception or administration of the Sacraments—these will fall under the control of the State. What will then become of ecclesiastical authority, which can only be exercised by external acts? Obviously it will be completely under the dominion of the State. It is this inevitable consequence which urges many among *liberal* Protestants to reject all external worship—nay, all external religious fellowship, and leads them to advocate what they call *individual*

religion. If the Modernists have not yet openly proceeded so far, they ask the Church in the meanwhile to follow of her own accord in the direction in which they urge her and to adapt herself to the forms of the State. Such are their ideas about *disciplinary* authority. But much more evil and pernicious are their opinions on *doctrinal* and *dogmatic* authority. The following is their conception of the magisterium of the Church: No religious society, they say, can be a real unit unless the religious conscience of its members be one, and also the formula which they adopt. But this double unity requires a kind of common mind whose office is to find and determine the formula that corresponds best with the common conscience; and it must have, moreover, an authority sufficient to enable it to impose on the community the formula which has been decided upon. From the combination and, as it were, fusion of these two elements, the common mind which draws up the formula and the authority which imposes it, arises, according to the Modernists, the notion of the ecclesiastical magisterium. And, as this magisterium springs, in its last analysis, from the individual consciences and possesses its mandate of public utility for their

benefit, it necessarily follows that the ecclesiastical magisterium must be dependent upon them, and should therefore be made to bow to the popular ideals. To prevent individual consciences from expressing freely and openly the impulses they feel, to hinder criticism from urging forward dogma in the path of its necessary evolution, is not a legitimate use but an abuse of a power given for the public weal. So too a due method and measure must be observed in the exercise of authority. To condemn and prescribe a work without the knowledge of the author, without hearing his explanations, without discussion, is something approaching to tyranny. And here again it is a question of finding a way of reconciling the full rights of authority on the one hand and those of liberty on the other. In the meantime the proper course for the Catholic will be to proclaim publicly his profound respect for authority, while never ceasing to follow his own judgment. Their general direction for the Church is as follows: that the ecclesiastical authority, since its end is entirely spiritual, should strip itself of that external pomp which adorns it in the eyes of the public. In this, they forget that while religion is for the soul, it is not exclusively for the

soul, and that the honour paid to authority is reflected back on Christ who instituted it.

[The Evolution of Doctrine.]

To conclude this whole question of faith and its various branches, we have still to consider, Venerable Brethren, what the Modernists have to say about the development of the one and the other. First of all they lay down the general principle that in a living religion everything is subject to change, and must in fact be changed. In this way they pass to what is practically their principal doctrine, namely, *evolution*. To the laws of evolution everything is subject under penalty of death—dogma, Church, worship, the Books we revere as sacred, even faith itself. The enunciation of this principle will not be a matter of surprise to anyone who bears in mind what the Modernists have had to say about each of these subjects. Having laid down this law of evolution, the Modernists themselves teach us how it operates. And first, with regard to faith. The primitive form of faith, they tell us, was rudimentary and common to all men alike,

for it had its origin in human nature and human life. Vital evolution brought with it progress, not by the accretion of new and purely adventitious forms from without, but by an increasing perfusion of the religious sense into the conscience. The progress was of two kinds: *negative*, by the elimination of all extraneous elements, such, for example, as those derived from the family or nationality; and *positive*, by that intellectual and moral refining of man, by means of which the idea of the divine became fuller and clearer, while the *religious sense* became more acute. For the progress of faith the same causes are to be assigned as those which are adduced above to explain its origin. But to them must be added those extraordinary men whom we call prophets—of whom Christ was the greatest—both because in their lives and their words there was something mysterious which faith attributed to the divinity, and because it fell to their lot to have new and original *experiences* fully in harmony with the religious needs of their time. The progress of dogma is due chiefly to the fact that obstacles to the faith have to be surmounted, enemies have to be vanquished, and objections have to be refuted.

Add to this a perpetual striving to penetrate ever more profoundly into those things which are contained in the mysteries of faith. Thus, putting aside other examples, it is found to have happened in the case of Christ: in Him that divine something which faith recognised in Him was slowly and gradually expanded in such a way that He was at last held to be God. The chief stimulus of the evolution of worship consists in the need of accommodation to the manners and customs of peoples, as well as the need of availing itself of the value which certain acts have acquired by usage. Finally, evolution in the Church itself is fed by the need of adapting itself to historical conditions and of harmonising itself with existing forms of society. Such is their view with regard to each. And here, before proceeding further, We wish to draw attention to this whole theory of *necessities or needs*, for beyond all that we have seen, it is, as it were, the base and foundation of that famous method which they describe as historical.

Although evolution is urged on by needs or necessities, yet, if controlled by these alone, it would easily overstep the boundaries of tradition,

and thus, separated from its primitive vital principle, would make for ruin instead of progress. Hence, by those who study more closely the ideas of the Modernists, evolution is described as a resultant from the conflict of two forces, one of them tending towards progress, the other towards conservation. The conserving force exists in the Church and is found in tradition; tradition is represented by religious authority, and this both by right and in fact. For by right it is in the very nature of authority to protect tradition, and, in fact, since authority, raised as it is above the contingencies of life, feels hardly, or not at all, the spurs of progress. The progressive force, on the contrary, which responds to the inner needs, lies in the individual consciences and works in them—especially in such of them as are in more close and intimate contact with life. Already we observe, Venerable Brethren, the introduction of that most pernicious doctrine which would make of the laity the factor of progress in the Church. Now it is by a species of covenant and compromise between these two forces of conservation and progress, that is to say between authority and individual con-

sciences, that changes and advances take place. The individual consciences, or some of them, act on the collective conscience, which brings pressure to bear on the depositaries of authority to make terms and to keep to them.

With all this in mind, one understands how it is that the Modernists express astonishment when they are reprimanded or punished. What is imputed to them as a fault they regard as a sacred duty. They understand the needs of consciences better than anyone else, since they come into closer touch with them than does the ecclesiastical authority. Nay, they embody them, so to speak, in themselves. Hence, for them to speak and to write publicly is a bounden duty. Let authority rebuke them if it pleases—they have their own conscience on their side and an intimate experience which tells them with certainty that what they deserve is not blame but praise. Then they reflect that, after all, there is no progress without a battle and no battle without its victims; and victims they are willing to be like the prophets and Christ Himself. They have no bitterness in their hearts against the authority which uses them roughly, for after all they

readily admit that it is only doing its duty as authority. Their sole grief is that it remains deaf to their warnings, for in this way it impedes the progress of souls, but the hour will most surely come when further delay will be impossible, for if the laws of evolution may be checked for a while they cannot be finally evaded. And thus they go their way, reprimands and condemnations notwithstanding, masking an incredible audacity under a mock semblance of humility. While they make a pretence of bowing their heads, their minds and hands are more boldly intent than ever on carrying out their purposes. And this policy they follow willingly and wittingly, both because it is part of their system that authority is to be stimulated but not dethroned, and because it is necessary for them to remain within the ranks of the Church in order that they may gradually transform the collective conscience. And in saying this, they fail to perceive that they are avowing that the collective conscience is not with them, and that they have no right to claim to be its interpreters.

It is thus, Venerable Brethren, that for the Modernists, whether as authors or propagandists,

there is to be nothing stable, nothing immutable in the Church. Nor, indeed, are they without forerunners in their doctrines, for it was of these that Our Predecessor Pius IX. wrote: "These enemies of divine revelation extol human progress to the skies, and with rash and sacrilegious daring would have it introduced into the Catholic religion as if this religion were not the work of God but of man, or some kind of philosophical discovery susceptible of perfection by human efforts." * On the subject of revelation and dogma in particular, the doctrine of the Modernists offers nothing new. We find it condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX., where it is enunciated in these terms: "Divine revelation is imperfect, and therefore subject to continual and indefinite progress, corresponding with the progress of human reason;" † and condemned still more solemnly in the Vatican Council: "The doctrine of the faith which God has revealed has not been proposed to human intelligences to be perfected by them as if it were a philosophical system, but as a divine deposit entrusted to the

* Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Nov. 1846.
† Syll. Prop. 5.

Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly interpreted. Hence also that sense of the sacred dogmas is to be perpetually retained which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared, nor is this sense ever to be abandoned on plea or pretext of a more profound comprehension of the truth." * Nor is the development of our knowledge, even concerning the faith, barred by this pronouncement; on the contrary, it is supported and maintained. For the same Council continues: "Let intelligence and science and wisdom, therefore, increase and progress abundantly and vigorously in individuals and in the mass, in the believer and in the whole Church, throughout the ages and the centuries—but only in its own kind, that is, according to the same dogma, the same sense, the same acceptation." †

[The Modernist as Historian and Critic.]

We have studied the Modernist as philosopher, believer, and theologian. It now remains for us

* Const. *Dei Filius*, cap. iv.
† *Loc. cit.*

to consider him as historian, critic, apologist, and reformer.

Some Modernists, devoted to historical studies, seem to be deeply anxious not to be taken for philosophers. About philosophy they profess to know nothing whatever, and in this they display remarkable astuteness, for they are particularly desirous not to be suspected of any prepossession in favour of philosophical theories which would lay them open to the charge of not being, as they call it, *objective*. And yet the truth is that their history and their criticism are saturated with their philosophy, and that their historico-critical conclusions are the natural outcome of their philosophical principles. This will be patent to anyone who reflects. Their three first laws are contained in those three principles of their philosophy already dealt with; the principle of *agnosticism*, the theorem of the *transfiguration* of things by faith, and that other which may be called the principle of *disfiguration*. Let us see what consequences flow from each of these. *Agnosticism* tells us that history, like science, deals entirely with phenomena, and the consequence is that God, and every intervention

of God in human affairs, is to be relegated to the domain of faith as belonging to it alone. Wherefore in things where there is combined a double element, the divine and the human, as, for example, in Christ, or the Church, or the Sacraments, or the many other objects of the same kind, a division and separation must be made and the human element must be left to history while the divine will be assigned to faith. Hence we have that distinction, so current among the Modernists, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith; the Church of history and the Church of faith; the Sacraments of history and the Sacraments of faith, and so in similar matters. Next we find that the human element itself, which the historian has to work on, as it appears in the documents, is to be considered as having been transfigured by faith, that is to say, raised above its historical conditions. It becomes necessary, therefore, to eliminate also the accretions which faith has added, to relegate them to faith itself and to the history of faith. Thus, when treating of Christ, the historian must set aside all that surpasses man in his natural condition, according to what psychology tells us of

him, or according to what we gather from the place and period of his existence. Finally, they require, by virtue of the third principle, that even those things which are not outside the sphere of history should pass through the sieve, excluding all and relegating to faith everything which, in their judgment, is not in harmony with what they call the *logic* of facts or not in character with the persons of whom they are predicated. Thus, they will not allow that Christ ever uttered those things which do not seem to be within the capacity of the multitudes that listened to Him. Hence they delete from His *real* history and transfer to faith all the allegories found in His discourses. We may peradventure inquire on what principle they make these divisions? Their reply is that they argue from the character of the man, from his condition of life, from his education, from the complexus of the circumstances under which the facts took place, in short, if We understand them aright, on a principle which in the last analysis is merely *subjective*. Their method is to put themselves into the position and person of Christ, and then to attribute to Him what they would have done under

like circumstances. In this way, absolutely *a priori* and acting on philosophical principles which they hold but which they profess to ignore, they proclaim that Christ, according to what they call His *real* history, was not God and never did anything divine, and that as man He did and said only what they, judging from the time in which He lived, consider that He ought to have said or done.

[Criticism and its Principles.]

As history takes its conclusions from philosophy, so too criticism takes its conclusions from history. The critic, on the data furnished him by the historian, makes two parts of all his documents. Those that remain after the triple elimination above described go to form the *real* history; the rest is attributed to the history of the faith or, as it is styled, to *internal* history. For the Modernists distinguish very carefully between these two kinds of history, and it is to be noted that they oppose the history of the faith to *real* history precisely as real. Thus, as we have already said, we have a twofold Christ: a real Christ, and a Christ, the one of faith, who

never really existed; a Christ who has lived at a given time and in a given place, and a Christ who has never lived outside the pious meditations of the believer—the Christ, for instance, whom we find in the Gospel of S. John, which, according to them, is mere meditation from beginning to end.

But the dominion of philosophy over history does not end here. Given that division, of which We have spoken, of the documents into two parts, the philosopher steps in again with his dogma of *vital immanence*, and shows how everything in the history of the Church is to be explained by *vital emanation*. And since the cause or condition of every vital emanation whatsoever is to be found in some need or want, it follows that no fact can be regarded as antecedent to the need which produced it—historically the fact must be posterior to the need. What, then, does the historian in view of this principle? He goes over his documents again, whether they be contained in the Sacred Books or elsewhere, draws up from them his list of the particular needs of the Church, whether relating to dogma, or liturgy, or other matters

which are found in the Church thus related, and then he hands his list over to the critic. The critic takes in hand the documents dealing with the history of faith and distributes them, period by period, so that they correspond exactly with the list of needs, always guided by the principle that the narration must follow the facts, as the facts follow the needs. It may at times happen that some parts of the Sacred Scriptures, such as the Epistles, themselves constitute the fact created by the need. Even so, the rule holds that the age of any document can only be determined by the age in which each need has manifested itself in the Church. Further, a distinction must be made between the beginning of a fact and its development, for what is born in one day requires time for growth. Hence the critic must once more go over his documents, ranged as they are through the different ages, and divide them again into two parts, separating those that regard the origin of the facts from those that deal with their development, and these he must again arrange according to their periods.

Then the philosopher must come in again to enjoin

upon the historian the obligation of following in all his studies the precepts and laws of evolution. It is next for the historian to scrutinise his documents once more, to examine carefully the circumstances and conditions affecting the Church during the different periods, the conserving force she has put forth, the needs both internal and external that have stimulated her to progress, the obstacles she has had to encounter, in a word, everything that helps to determine the manner in which the laws of evolution have been fulfilled in her. This done, he finishes his work by drawing up a history of the development in its broad lines. The critic follows and fits in the rest of the documents. He sets himself to write. The history is finished. Now We ask here: Who is the author of this history? The historian? The critic? Assuredly neither of these but the philosopher. From beginning to end everything in it is *a priori*, and an apriorism that reeks of heresy. These men are certainly to be pitied, of whom the Apostle might well say: *They became vain in their thoughts . . . professing themselves to be wise they became fools* (Rom. i. 21, 22). At the same time, they excite resentment when

they accuse the Church of arranging and confusing the texts after her own fashion, and for the needs of her cause. In this they are accusing the Church of something for which their own conscience plainly reproaches them.

[How the Bible is Dealt With.]

The result of this dismembering of the records, and this partition of them throughout the centuries, is naturally that the Scriptures can no longer be attributed to the authors whose names they bear. The Modernists have no hesitation in affirming generally that these books, and especially the Pentateuch and the first three Gospels, have been gradually formed from a primitive brief narration, by additions, by interpolations of theological or allegorical interpretations, or parts introduced only for the purpose of joining different passages together. This means, to put it briefly and clearly, that in the Sacred Books we must admit a *vital evolution*, springing from and corresponding with the evolution of faith. The traces of this evolution, they tell us, are so visible in the books that one might almost

write a history of it. Indeed, this history they actually do write, and with such an easy assurance that one might believe them to have seen with their own eyes the writers at work through the ages amplifying the Sacred Books. To aid them in this they call to their assistance that branch of criticism which they call *textual*, and labour to show that such a fact or such a phrase is not in its right place, adducing other arguments of the same kind. They seem, in fact, to have constructed for themselves certain types of narration and discourses, upon which they base their assured verdict as to whether a thing is or is not out of place. Let him who can judge how far they are qualified in this way to make such distinctions. To hear them descant of their works on the Sacred Books, in which they have been able to discover so much that is defective, one would imagine that before them nobody ever even turned over the pages of Scripture. The truth is that a whole multitude of Doctors, far superior to them in genius, in erudition, in sanctity, have sifted the Sacred Books in every way, and so far from finding in them anything blameworthy, have thanked God more and more heartily the

more deeply they have gone into them, for His divine bounty in having vouchsafed to speak thus to men. Unfortunately, these great Doctors did not enjoy the same aids to study that are possessed by the Modernists, for they did not have for their rule and guide a philosophy borrowed from the negation of God, and a criterion which consists of themselves.

We believe, then, that We have set forth with sufficient clearness the historical method of the Modernists. The philosopher leads the way, the historian follows, and then in due order come the internal and textual critics. And since it is characteristic of the primary cause to communicate its virtue to causes which are secondary, it is quite clear that the criticism with which we are concerned is not any kind of criticism, but that which is rightly called *agnostic, immanentist, and evolutionist* criticism. Hence anyone who adopts it and employs it, makes profession thereby of the errors contained in it, and places himself in opposition to Catholic teaching. This being so, it is much a matter for surprise that it should have found acceptance to such an extent amongst certain Catholics. Two causes may be

assigned for this: first, the close alliance which the historians and critics of this school have formed among themselves independent of all differences of nationality or religion; second, their boundless effrontery by which, if one then makes any utterance, the others applaud him in chorus, proclaiming that science has made another step forward, while if an outsider should desire to inspect the new discovery for himself, they form a coalition against him. He who denies it is decried as one who is ignorant, while he who embraces and defends it has all their praise. In this way they entrap not a few, who, did they but realise what they are doing, would shrink back with horror. The domineering overbearance of those who teach the errors, and the thoughtless compliance of the more shallow minds who assent to them, create a corrupted atmosphere which penetrates everywhere, and carries infection with it. But let Us pass to the apologist.

[The Modernist as Apologist.]

The Modernist apologist depends in two ways on the philosopher. First, *indirectly*, inasmuch

as his subject-matter is history—history dictated, as we have seen, by the philosopher; and, secondly, *directly*, inasmuch as he takes both his doctrines and his conclusions from the philosopher. Hence that common axiom of the Modernist school that in the new apologetics controversies in religion must be determined by psychological and historical research. The Modernist apologists, then, enter the arena, proclaiming to the rationalists that, though they are defending religion, they have no intention of employing the data of the Sacred Books or the histories in current use in the Church, and written upon the old lines, but *real* history composed on modern principles and according to the modern method. In all this they assert that they are not using an *argumentum ad hominem*, because they are really of the opinion that the truth is to be found only in this kind of history. They feel that it is not necessary for them to make profession of their own sincerity in their writings. They are already known to and praised by the rationalist as fighting under the same banner, and they not only plume themselves on these encomiums, which would only provoke disgust in a real Catholic, but

use them as a counter compensation to the reprimands of the Church.

Let us see how the Modernist conducts his apologetics. The aim he sets before himself is to make one who is still without faith attain that *experience* of the Catholic religion which, according to the system, is the sole basis of faith. There are two ways open to him, the *objective* and the *subjective*. The first of them starts from agnosticism. It tends to show that religion, and especially the Catholic religion, is endowed with such vitality as to compel every psychologist and historian of good faith to recognise that its history hides some element of the *unknown*. To this end it is necessary to prove that the Catholic religion, as it exists today, is that which was founded by Jesus Christ; that is to say, that it is nothing else than the progressive development of the germ which He brought into the world. Hence it is imperative first of all to establish what this germ was, and this the Modernist claims to be able to do by the following formula: Christ announced the coming of the kingdom of God, which was to be realised within a brief lapse of time and of which He was to become

the Messiah, the divinely-given founder and ruler. Then it must be shown how this germ, always *immanent* and *permanent* in the Catholic religion, has gone on slowly developing in the course of history, adapting itself successively to the different circumstances through which it has passed, borrowing from them by *vital* assimilation all the doctrinal, cultural, ecclesiastical forms that served its purpose; whilst, on the other hand, it surmounted all obstacles, vanquished all enemies, and survived all assaults and all combats. Anyone who well and duly considers this mass of obstacles, adversaries, attacks, combats, and the vitality and fecundity which the Church has shown throughout them all, must admit that if the laws of evolution are visible in her life they fail to explain the whole of her history —the *unknown* rises forth from it and presents itself before us. Thus do they argue, not perceiving that their determination of the primitive germ is only an *a priori* assumption of agnostic and evolutionist philosophy, and that the germ itself has been gratuitously defined so that it may fit in with their contention.

But while they endeavour by this line of reasoning

to prove and plead for the Catholic religion, these new apologists are more than willing to grant and to recognise that there are in it many things which are repulsive. Nay, they admit openly, and with ill-concealed satisfaction, that they have found that even its dogma is not exempt from errors and contradictions. They add also that this is not only excusable but—curiously enough—that it is even right and proper. In the Sacred Books there are many passages referring to science or history where, according to them, manifest errors are to be found. But, they say, the subject of these books is not science or history, but only religion and morals. In them history and science serve only as a species of covering to enable the religious and moral experiences wrapped up in them to penetrate more readily among the masses. The masses understood science and history as they are expressed in these books, and it is clear that the expression of science and history in a more perfect form would have proved not so much a help as a hindrance. Moreover, they add, the Sacred Books being essentially religious, are necessarily quick with life. Now life has its own truth and its own logic—quite

different from rational truth and rational logic, belonging as they do to a different order, viz., truth of adaptation and of proportion both with what they call the *medium* in which it lives and with the end for which it lives. Finally, the Modernists, losing all sense of control, go so far as to proclaim as true and legitimate whatever is explained by life.

We, Venerable Brethren, for whom there is but one and only truth, and who hold that the Sacred Books, *written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, have God for their author* * declare that this is equivalent to attributing to God Himself the lie of utility or officious lie, and We say with S. Augustine: *In an authority so high, admit but one officious lie, and there will not remain a single passage of those apparently difficult to practise or to believe, which on the same most pernicious rule may not be explained as a lie uttered by the author wilfully and to serve a purpose.*† And thus it will come about, the holy Doctor continues that *everybody will believe and refuse to believe what he likes or dislikes in them,* namely, the Scriptures. But the Modernists pursue their way eagerly. They

* Conc. Vat., *De Revel.*, c. 2.
† Epist. 28.

grant also that certain arguments adduced in the Sacred Books in proof of a given doctrine, like those, for example, which are based on the prophecies, have no rational foundation to rest on. But they defend even these as artifices of preaching, which are justified by life. More than that. They are ready to admit, nay, to proclaim, that Christ Himself manifestly erred in determining the time when the coming of the kingdom of God was to take place; and they tell us that we must not be surprised at this since even He Himself was subject to the laws of life! After this what is to become of the dogmas of the Church? The dogmas bristle with flagrant contradictions, but what does it matter since, apart from the fact that vital logic accepts them, they are not repugnant to symbolical truth. Are we not dealing with the infinite, and has not the infinite an infinite variety of aspects? In short, to maintain and defend these theories, they do not hesitate to declare that the noblest homage that can be paid to the Infinite is to make it the object of contradictory statements! But when they justify even contradictions, what is it that they will refuse to justify?

[Subjective Arguments.]

But it is not solely by *objective* arguments that the non-believer may be disposed to faith. There are also those that are *subjective*, and for this purpose the Modernist apologists return to the doctrine of *immanence*. They endeavour, in fact, to persuade their non-believer that down in the very depths of his nature and his life lie hidden the need and the desire for some religion, and this not a religion of any kind, but the specific religion known as Catholicism, which, they say, is absolutely *postulated* by the perfect development of life. And here again We have grave reason to complain that there are Catholics who, while rejecting *immanence* as a doctrine, employ it as a method of apologetics, and who do this so imprudently that they seem to admit, not merely a capacity and a suitability for the supernatural, such as has at all times been emphasised, within due limits by Catholic apologists, but that there is in human nature a true and rigorous need for the supernatural order. Truth to tell, it is only the moderate Modernists who make this appeal to an exigency for the Catholic religion.

As for the others, who might be called *integralists*, they would show to the non-believer, as hidden in his being, the very germ which Christ Himself had in His consciousness, and which He transmitted to mankind. Such, Venerable Brethren, is a summary description of the apologetic method of the Modernists, in perfect harmony with their doctrines—methods and doctrines replete with errors, made not for edification but for destruction, not for the making of Catholics but for the seduction of those who are Catholics into heresy; and tending to the utter subversion of all religion.

[The Modernist as Reformer.]

It remains for Us now to say a few words about the Modernist as reformer. From all that has preceded, it is abundantly clear how great and how eager is the passion of such men for innovation. In all Catholicism there is absolutely nothing on which it does not fasten. They wish philosophy to be reformed, especially in the ecclesiastical seminaries. They wish the scholastic philosophy to be relegated to the history of philosophy and to be classed among ob-

solete systems, and the young men to be taught modern philosophy which alone is true and suited to the times in which we live. They desire the reform of theology: rational theology is to have modern philosophy for its foundation, and positive theology is to be founded on the history of dogma. As for history, it must be written and taught only according to their methods and modern principles. Dogmas and their evolution, they affirm, are to be harmonised with science and history. In the Catechism no dogmas are to be inserted except those that have been reformed and are within the capacity of the people. Regarding worship, they say, the number of external devotions is to be reduced, and steps must be taken to prevent their further increase, though, indeed, some of the admirers of symbolism are disposed to be more indulgent on this head. They cry out that ecclesiastical government requires to be reformed in all its branches, but especially in its disciplinary and dogmatic departments. They insist that both outwardly and inwardly it must be brought into harmony with the modern conscience, which now wholly tends towards democracy; a share in ecclesiastical government should therefore be given

to the lower ranks of the clergy, and even to the laity, and authority which is too much concentrated, should be decentralised. The Roman Congregations, and especially the *Index* and the *Holy Office*, must be likewise modified. The ecclesiastical authority must alter its line of conduct in the social and political world; while keeping outside political organisations, it must adapt itself to them, in order to penetrate them with its spirit. With regard to morals, they adopt the principle of the Americanists, that the active virtues are more important than the passive, and are to be more encouraged in practice. They ask that the clergy should return to their primitive humility and poverty, and that in their ideas and action they should admit the principles of Modernism; and there are some who, gladly listening to the teaching of their Protestant masters, would desire the suppression of the celibacy of the clergy. What is there left in the Church which is not to be reformed by them and according to their principles?

[Modernism the Synthesis of all the Heresies.]

It may, perhaps, seem to some, Venerable Brethren, that We have dwelt at too great length on this exposition of the doctrines of the Modernists. But it was necessary that We should do so, both in order to meet their customary charge that We do not understand their ideas, and to show that their system does not consist in scattered and unconnected theories, but, as it were, in a closely connected whole, so that it is not possible to admit one without admitting all. For this reason, too, We have had to give to this exposition a somewhat didactic form, and not to shrink from employing certain unwonted terms which the Modernists have brought into use. And now with Our eyes fixed upon the whole system, no one will be surprised that We should define it to be the synthesis of all heresies? Undoubtedly, were anyone to attempt the task of collecting together all the errors that have been broached against the faith and to concentrate into one the sap and substance of them all, he could not succeed in doing so better than the Modernists have done. Nay, they have gone

farther than this, for, as We have already intimated, their system means the destruction not of the Catholic religion alone, but of all religion. Hence the rationalists are not wanting in their applause, and the most frank and sincere amongst them congratulate themselves in having found in the Modernists the most valuable of all allies.

Let us turn for a moment, Venerable Brethren, to that most disastrous doctrine of *agnosticism*. By it every avenue to God on the side of the intellect is barred to man, while a better way is supposed to be opened from the side of a certain sense of the soul and action. But who does not see how mistaken is such a contention? For the sense of the soul is the response to the action of the thing which the intellect or the outward senses set before it. Take away the intelligence, and man, already inclined to follow the senses, becomes their slave. Doubly mistaken, from another point of view, for all these fantasies of the religious sense will never be able to destroy common sense, and common sense tells us that emotion and everything that leads the heart captive proves a hindrance instead of a help to the discovery of truth. We speak of truth in itself—for that other purely

subjective truth the fruit of the internal sense and action, if it serves its purpose for the play of words, is of no benefit to the man who wants above all things to know whether outside himself there is a God into whose hands he is one day to fall. True, the Modernists call in *experience* to eke out their system, but what does this *experience* add to that sense of the soul? Absolutely nothing beyond a certain intensity and a proportionate deepening of the conviction of the reality of the object. But these two will never make the sense of the soul into anything but sense, nor will they alter its nature, which is liable to deception when the intelligence is not there to guide it; on the contrary, they but confirm and strengthen this nature, for the more intense the sense is the more it is really sense. And as we are here dealing with religious sense and the experinece involved in it, it is known to you, Venerable Brethren, how necessary in such a matter is prudence, and the learning by which prudence is guided. You know it from your own dealings with souls, and especially with souls in whom sentiment predominates; you know it also from your reading of works of ascetical theology—works for which the Modernists have but little

esteem, but which testify to a science and a solidity far greater than theirs, and to a refinement and subtlety of observation far beyond any which the Modernists take credit to themselves for possessing. It seems to Us nothing short of madness, or at the least consummate temerity, to accept for true, and without investigation, these incomplete experiences which are the vaunt of the Modernist. Let us for a moment put the question: If experiences have so much force and value in their estimation, why do they not attach equal weight to the experience that so many thousands of Catholics have that the Modernists are on the wrong path? Is it that the Catholic experiences are the only ones which are false and deceptive? The vast majority of mankind holds and always will hold firmly that sense and experience alone, when not enlightened and guided by reason, cannot reach to the knowledge of God. What, then, remains but atheism and the absence of all religion. Certainly it is not the doctrine of *symbolism* that will save us from this. For if all the intellectual elements, as they call them, of religion are nothing more than mere symbols of God, will not the very name of God or of divine personality

be also a symbol, and if this be admitted, the personality of God will become a matter of doubt and the gate will be opened to Pantheism? And to Pantheism pure and simple that other doctrine of the *divine immanence* leads directly. For this is the question which We ask: Does or does not this *immanence* leave God distinct from man? If it does, in what does it differ from the Catholic doctrine, and why does it reject the doctrine of external revelation? If it does not, it is Pantheism. Now the doctrine of *immanence* in the Modernist acceptation holds and professes that every phenomenon of conscience proceeds from man as man. The rigorous conclusion from this is the identity of man with God, which means Pantheism. The distinction which Modernists make between science and faith leads to the same conclusion. The object of science, they say, is the reality of the knowable; the object of faith, on the contrary, is the reality of the unknowable. Now, what makes the unknowable unknowable is the fact that there is no proportion between its object and the intellect—a defect of proportion which nothing whatever, even in the doctrine of the Modernist, can suppress. Hence the unknowable

remains and will eternally remain unknowable to the believer as well as to the philosopher. Therefore if any religion at all is possible, it can only be the religion of an unknowable reality. And why this religion might not be that soul of the universe, of which certain rationalists speak, is something which certainly does not seem to Us apparent. These reasons suffice to show superabundantly by how many roads Modernism leads to atheism and to the annihilation of all religion. The error of Protestantism made the first step on this path; that of Modernism makes the second; Atheism makes the next.

[PART II.—THE CAUSE OF MODERNISM.]

To penetrate still deeper into the meaning of Modernism and to find a suitable remedy for so deep a sore, it behoves Us, Venerable Brethren, to investigate the causes which have engendered it and which foster its growth. That the proximate and immediate cause consists in an error of the mind cannot be open to doubt. We recognise that the remote causes may be reduced to two: curiosity and

pride. Curiosity by itself, if not prudently regulated, suffices to account for all errors. Such is the opinion of Our Predecessor, Gregory XVI., who wrote: *A lamentable spectacle is that presented by the aberrations of human reason when it yields to the spirit of novelty, when against the warning of the Apostle it seeks to know beyond what it is meant to know, and when relying too much on itself it thinks it can find the truth outside the Catholic Church wherein truth is found without the slightest shadow of error.**

But it is pride which exercises an incomparably greater sway over the soul to blind it and lead it into error, and pride sits in Modernism as in its own house, finding sustenance everywhere in its doctrines and lurking in its every aspect. It is pride which fills Modernists with that self-assurance by which they consider themselves and pose as the rule for all. It is pride which puffs them up with that vain-glory which allows them to regard themselves as the sole possessors of knowledge, and makes them say, elated and inflated with presumption, *We are not as the rest of men*, and which, lest they should seem as other men, leads them to embrace and to devise novelties

* Ep. Encycl. *Singulari Nos*, 7 Kal. Jul. 1834.

even of the most absurd kind. It is pride which rouses in them the spirit of disobedience and causes them to demand a compromise between authority and liberty. It is owing to their pride that they seek to be the reformers of others while they forget to reform themselves, and that they are found to be utterly wanting in respect for authority, even for the supreme authority. Truly there is no road which leads so directly and so quickly to Modernism as pride. When a Catholic layman or a priest forgets the precept of the Christian life which obliges us to renounce ourselves if we would follow Christ and neglects to tear pride from his heart, then it is he who most of all is a fully ripe subject for the errors of Modernism. For this reason, Venerable Brethren, it will be your first duty to resist such victims of pride, to employ them only in the lowest and obscurest offices. The higher they try to rise, the lower let them be placed, so that the lowliness of their position may limit their power of causing damage. Examine most carefully your young clerics by yourselves and by the directors of your seminaries, and when you find the spirit of pride amongst them reject them without compunction from the priesthood.

Would to God that this had always been done with the vigilance and constancy which were required!

If we pass on from the moral to the intellectual causes of Modernism, the first and the chief which presents itself is ignorance. Yes, these very Modernists who seek to be esteemed as Doctors of the Church, who speak so loftily of modern philosophy and show such contempt for scholasticism, have embraced the one with all its false glamour, precisely because their ignorance of the other has left them without the means of being able to recognise confusion of thought and to refute sophistry. Their whole system, containing as it does errors so many and so great, has been born of the union between faith and false philosophy.

[Methods of Propagandism.]

Would that they had but displayed less zeal and energy in propagating it! But such is their activity and such their unwearying labour on behalf of their cause, that one cannot but be pained to see them waste such energy in endeavouring to ruin the Church when they might have been of such service to her had

their efforts been better directed. Their artifices to delude men's minds are of two kinds, the first to remove obstacles from their path, the second to devise and apply actively and patiently every resource that can serve their purpose. They recognise that the three chief difficulties which stand in their way are the scholastic method of philosophy, the authority and Tradition of the Fathers, and the magisterium of the Church, and on these they wage unrelenting war. Against scholastic philosophy and theology they use the weapons of ridicule and contempt. Whether it is ignorance or fear, or both, that inspires this conduct in them, certain it is that the passion for novelty is always united in them with hatred of scholasticism, and there is no surer sign that a man is tending to Modernism than when he begins to show his dislike for the scholastic method. Let the Modernists and their admirers remember the proposition condemned by Pius IX.: *The method and principles which have served the ancient doctors of scholasticism when treating of theology no longer correspond with the exigencies of our time or the progress of science.** They exercise all their ingenuity

* Syll. Prop. 13

in an effort to weaken the force and falsify the character of tradition, so as to rob it of all its weight and authority. But for Catholics nothing will remove the authority of the second Council of Nicea, where it condemns those *who dare, after the impious fashion of heretics, to deride the ecclesiastical traditions, to invent novelties of some kind . . . or endeavour by malice or craft to overthrow any one of the legitimate traditions of the Catholic Church;* nor that of the declaration of the fourth Council of Constantinople: *We therefore profess to preserve and guard the rules bequeathed to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, by the Holy and most illustrious Apostles, by the orthodox Councils, both general and local, and by every one of those divine interpreters, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.* Wherefore the Roman Pontiffs, Pius IV. and Pius IX., ordered the insertion in the profession of faith of the following declaration: *I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions and other observances and constitutions of the Church.*

The Modernists pass judgment on the holy Fathers of the Church even as they do upon tradition. With consummate temerity they assure the public that

the Fathers, while personally most worthy of all veneration, were entirely ignorant of history and criticism, for which they are only excusable on account of the time in which they lived. Finally, the Modernists try in every way to diminish and weaken the authority of the ecclesiastical magisterium itself by sacrilegiously falsifying its origin, character, and rights, and by freely repeating the calumnies of its adversaries. To the entire band of Modernists may be applied those words which Our Predecessor sorrowfully wrote: *To bring contempt and odium on the mystic Spouse of Christ, who is the true light, the children of darkness have been wont to cast in her face before the world a stupid calumny, and perverting the meaning and force of things and words, to depict her as the friend of darkness and ignorance, and the enemy of light, science, and progress.** This being so, Venerable Brethren, there is little reason to wonder that the Modernists vent all their bitterness and hatred on Catholics who zealously fight the battles of the Church. There is no species of insult which they do not heap upon them, but their usual course is to charge them

* Motu Proprio, *Ut Mysticum*, 14 March 1891.

with ignorance or obstinacy. When an adversary rises up against them with an erudition and force that render him redoubtable, they seek to make a conspiracy of silence around him to nullify the effects of his attack. The policy towards Catholics is the more invidious in that they belaud with admiration which knows no bounds the writers who range themselves on their side, hailing their works, exuding novelty in every page, with a chorus of applause. For them the scholarship of a writer is in direct proportion to the recklessness of his attacks on antiquity, and of his efforts to undermine tradition and the ecclesiastical magisterium. When one of their number falls under the condemnation of the Church the rest of them, to the disgust of good Catholics, gather round him, loudly and publicly applaud him, and hold him up in veneration as almost a martyr for truth. The young, excited and confused by all this clamour of praise and abuse, some of them afraid of being branded as ignorant, others ambitious to rank among the learned, and both classes goaded internally by curiosity and pride, not unfrequently surrender and give themselves up to Modernism.

And here we have already some of the artifices employed by Modernists to exploit their wares. What efforts do they not make to win new recruits! They seize upon professorships in the seminaries and universities, and gradually make of them chairs of pestilence. In sermons from the pulpit they disseminate their doctrines, although possibly in utterances which are veiled. In congresses they express their teachings more openly. In their social gatherings they introduce them and commend them to others. Under their own names and under pseudonyms they publish numbers of books, newspapers, reviews, and sometimes one and the same writer adopts a variety of pseudonyms to trap the incautious reader into believing in a multitude of Modernist writers. In short, with feverish activity they leave nothing untried in act, speech, and writing. And with what result? We have to deplore the spectacle of many young men, once full of promise and capable of rendering great services to the Church, now gone astray. It is also a subject of grief to Us that many others who, while they certainly do not go so far as the former, have yet been so infected by breathing a poisoned

atmosphere, as to think, speak, and write with a degree of laxity which ill becomes a Catholic. They are to be found among the laity, and in the ranks of the clergy, and they are not wanting even in the last place where one might expect to meet them, in religious communities. If they treat of biblical questions, it is upon Modernist principles; if they write history, they carefully, and with ill-concealed satisfaction, drag into the light, on the plea of telling the whole truth, everything that appears to cast a stain upon the Church. Under the sway of certain *a priori* conceptions they destroy as far as they can the pious traditions of the people, and bring into disrespect certain relics highly venerable from their antiquity. They are possessed by the empty desire of having their names upon the lips of the public, and they know they would never succeed in this were they to say only what has always been said by all men. Meanwhile it may be that they have persuaded themselves that in all this they are really serving God and the Church. In reality they only offend both, less perhaps by their works in themselves than by the spirit in which

they write, and by the encouragement they thus give to the aims of the Modernists.

[PART III.—REMEDIES.]

AGAINST this host of grave errors, and its secret and open advance, Our Predecessor Leo XIII., of happy memory, worked strenuously, both in his words and his acts, especially as regards the study of the Bible. But, as we have seen, the Modernists are not easily deterred by such weapons. With an affectation of great submission and respect, they proceeded to twist the words of the Pontiff to their own sense, while they described his action as directed against others than themselves. Thus the evil has gone on increasing from day to day. We, therefore, Venerable Brethren, have decided to suffer no longer delay, and to adopt measures which are more efficacious. We exhort and conjure you to see to it that in this most grave matter no one shall be in a position to say that you have been in the slightest degree wanting in vigilance, zeal, or firmness. And what We ask of you and

expect of you, We ask and expect also of all other pastors of souls, of all educators and professors of clerics, and in a very special way of the Superiors of religious communities.

[I.—The Study of Scholastic Philosophy.]

1. In the first place, with regard to studies, We will and strictly ordain that scholastic philosophy be made the basis of the sacred sciences. It goes without saying that *if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as something investigated with an excess of subtlety, or taught without sufficient consideration; anything which is not in keeping with the certain results of later times; anything, in short, which is altogether destitute of probability, We have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations.** And let it be clearly understood above all things that when We prescribe scholastic philosophy We understand chiefly that which the Angelic Doctor has bequeathed to us, and We, therefore, declare that all the ordinances of Our Predecessor on this subject continue

* Leo XIII., Enc. *Aeterni Patris.*

fully in force, and, as far as may be necessary, We do decree anew, and confirm, and order that they shall be strictly observed by all. In seminaries where they have been neglected it will be for the Bishops to exact and require their observance in the future; and let this apply also to the Superiors of religious orders. Further, We admonish Professors to bear well in mind that they cannot set aside S. Thomas, especially in metaphysical questions, without grave disadvantage.

On this philosophical foundation the theological edifice is to be carefully raised. Promote the study of theology, Venerable Brethren, by all means in your power, so that your clerics on leaving the seminaries may carry with them a deep admiration and love of it, and always find in it a source of delight. For *in the vast and varied abundance of studies opening before the mind desirous of truth, it is known to everyone that theology occupies such a commanding place, that according to an ancient adage of the wise, it is the duty of the other arts and sciences to serve it, and to wait upon it after the manner of handmaidens.** We will add that We deem

* Leo XIII., Lett. ap. *In Magna*, Dec. 10, 1889.

worthy of praise those who with full respect for tradition, the Fathers, and the ecclesiastical magisterium, endeavour, with well-balanced judgment, and guided by Catholic principles (which is not always the case), to illustrate positive theology by throwing upon it the light of true history. It is certainly necessary that positive theology should be held in greater appreciation than it has been in the past, but this must be done without detriment to scholastic theology; and those are to be disapproved as Modernists who exalt positive theology in such a way as to seem to despise the scholastic.

With regard to secular studies, let it suffice to recall here what Our Predecessor has admirably said: *Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: in which department the things that have been so brilliantly discovered, and so usefully applied, to the admiration of the present age, will be the object of praise and commendation to those who come after us.** But this is to be done without interfering with sacred studies, as Our same Predecessor described in these most weighty words: *If you carefully search for the cause of those errors*

* Leo XIII., Alloc., March 7, 1880.

*you will find that it is lien the fact that in these days when the natural sciences absorb so much study, the more severe and lofty studies have been proportionately neglected—some of them have almost passed into oblivion, some of them are pursued in a half-hearted or superficial way, and, sad to say, now that the splendour of the former estate is dimmed, they have been disfigured by perverse doctrines and monstrous errors.** We ordain, therefore, that the study of natural sciences in the seminaries be carried out according to the law.

[2.—Practical Application.]

2. All these prescriptions, both Our own and those of Our Predecessor, are to be kept in view whenever there is question of choosing directors and professors for seminaries and Catholic Universities. Anyone who in any way is found to be tainted with Modernism is to be excluded without compunction from these offices, whether of government or of teaching, and those who already occupy them are to be removed. The same policy is to be

* *Loc. cit.*

adopted towards those who openly or secretly lend countenance to Modernism either by extolling the Modernists and excusing their culpable conduct, or by carping at scholasticism, and the Fathers, and the magisterium of the Church, or by refusing obedience to ecclesiastical authority in any of its depositaries; and towards those who show a love of novelty in history, archæology, biblical exegesis; and finally towards those who neglect the sacred sciences or appear to prefer to them the secular. In all this question of studies, Venerable Brethren, you cannot be too watchful or too constant, but most of all in the choice of professors, for as a rule the students are modelled after the pattern of their masters. Strong in the consciousness of your duty, act always in this matter with prudence and with vigour.

Equal diligence and severity are to be used in examining and selecting candidates for Holy Orders. Far, far from the clergy be the love of novelty! God hateth the proud and the obstinate mind. For the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anyone who has not first of all made the regular course of scholastic

philosophy; if conferred, it shall be held as null and void. The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics, both secular and regular, of Italy, concerning the frequenting of the Universities, We now decree to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic Institute or University must not in the future follow in civil Universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic Institutes to which they belong. If this has been permitted anywhere in the past, We ordain that it be not allowed for the future. Let the Bishops who form the Governing Board of such Catholic Institutes or Universities watch with all care that these Our commands be constantly observed.

[3.—Episcopal Vigilance over Publications.]

3. It is also the duty of the Bishops to prevent writings of Modernists, or whatever savours of Modernism or promotes it, from being read when they have been published, and to hinder their publication when they have not. No books or papers or periodicals whatever of this kind are

to be permitted to seminarists or university students. The injury to them would be not less than that which is caused by immoral reading—nay, it would be greater, for such writings poison Christian life at its very fount. The same decision is to be taken concerning the writings of some Catholics, who, though not evilly disposed themselves, are ill-instructed in theological studies and imbued with modern philosophy, and strive to make this harmonise with the faith, and, as they say, to turn it to the profit of the faith. The name and reputation of these authors cause them to be read without suspicion, and they are, therefore, all the more dangerous in gradually preparing the way for Modernism.

To add some more general directions, Venerable Brethren, in a matter of such moment, We order that you do everything in your power to drive out of your dioceses, even by solemn interdict, any pernicious books that may be in circulation there. The Holy See neglects no means to remove writings of this kind, but their number has now grown to such an extent that it is hardly possible to subject them all to censure. Hence it happens sometimes

that the remedy arrives too late, for the disease has taken root during the delay. We will, therefore, that the Bishops, putting aside all fear and the prudence of the flesh, despising the clamour of evil men, shall, gently, by all means, but firmly, do each his own part in this work, remembering the injunctions of Leo XIII. in the Apostolic Constitution *Officiorum : Let the Ordinaries, acting in this also as Delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses.* In this passage the Bishops, it is true, receive an authorisation, but they have also a charge laid upon them. Let no Bishop think that he fulfils this duty by denouncing to us one or two books, while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated. Nor are you to be deterred by the fact that a book has obtained elsewhere the permission which is commonly called the *Imprimatur*, both because this may be merely simulated, and because it may have been granted through carelessness or too much indulgence or excessive trust placed in the author, which last has perhaps sometimes happened

in the religious orders. Besides, just as the same food does not agree with everyone, it may happen that a book, harmless in one place, may, on account of the different circumstances, be hurtful in another. Should a Bishop, therefore, after having taken the advice of prudent persons, deem it right to condemn any of such books in his diocese, We give him ample faculty for the purpose and We lay upon him the obligation of doing so. Let all this be done in a fitting manner, and in certain cases it will suffice to restrict the prohibition to the clergy; but in all cases it will be obligatory on Catholic booksellers not to put on sale books condemned by the Bishop. And while We are treating of this subject, We wish the Bishops to see to it that booksellers do not, through desire for gain, engage in evil trade. It is certain that in the catalogues of some of them the books of the Modernists are not unfrequently announced with no small praise. If they refuse obedience, let the Bishops, after due admonition, have no hesitation in depriving them of the title of Catholic booksellers. This applies, and with still more reason, to those who have the title of Episcopal booksellers. If they

have that of Pontifical booksellers let them be denounced to the Apostolic See. Finally, We remind all of Article XXVI. of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum : All those who have obtained an apostolic faculty to read and keep forbidden books, are not thereby authorised to read and keep books and periodicals forbidden by the local Ordinaries unless the apostolic faculty expressly concedes permission to read and keep books condemned by anyone whomsoever.*

[4.—Censorship.]

4. It is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books—it is also necessary to prevent them from being published. Hence, let the Bishops use the utmost strictness in granting permission to print. Under the rules of the Constitution *Officiorum*, many publications require the authorisation of the Ordinary, and in certain dioceses (since the Bishop cannot personally make himself acquainted with them all) it has been the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest esteem for

this institution of censors, and We not only exhort but We order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal Curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors be chosen from both ranks of the clergy—secular and regular—men whose age, knowledge, and prudence will enable them to follow the safe and golden mean in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine everything which requires permission for publication according to Articles XLI. and XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution. The censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favourable, the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word *Imprimatur*, which must be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the censor. In the Roman Curia official censors shall be appointed in the same way as elsewhere, and the duty of nominating them shall appertain to the Master of the Sacred Palace, after they have been proposed to the Cardinal Vicar and have been approved and accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff. It will also be the office of the Master of the Sacred Palace to select the censor for each writing. Permission

for publication will be granted by him as well as by the Cardinal Vicar or his Vicegerent, and this permission, as above prescribed, must be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the Censor. Only on very rare and exceptional occasions, and on the prudent decision of the Bishop, shall it be possible to omit mention of the Censor. The name of the Censor shall never be made known to the authors until he shall have given a favourable decision, so that he may not have to suffer inconvenience either while he is engaged in the examination of a writing or in case he should withhold his approval. Censors shall never be chosen from the religious orders until the opinion of the Provincial, or in Rome, of the General, has been privately obtained, and the Provincial or the General must give a conscientious account of the character, knowledge, and orthodoxy of the candidate. We admonish religious superiors of their most solemn duty never to allow anything to be published by any of their subjects without permission from themselves and from the Ordinary. Finally, We affirm and declare that the title of Censor with which a person may be honoured has no value

whatever, and can never be adduced to give credit to the private opinions of him who holds it.

[Priests as Editors.]

Having said this much in general, We now ordain in particular a more careful observance of Article XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum*, according to which *it is forbidden to secular priests, without the previous consent of the Ordinary, to undertake the editorship of papers or periodicals.* This permission shall be withdrawn from any priest who makes a wrong use of it after having received an admonition thereupon. With regard to priests who are *correspondents* or *collaborators* of periodicals, as it happens not unfrequently that they contribute matter infected with Modernism to their papers or periodicals, let the Bishops see to it that they do not offend in this manner; and if they do, let them warn the offenders and prevent them from writing. We solemnly charge in like manner the Superiors of religious orders that they fulfil the same duty, and should they fail in it, let the Bishops make due provision with authority from the Supreme Pontiff.

Let there be, as far as this is possible, a special Censor for newspapers and periodicals written by Catholics. It shall be his office to read in due time each number after it has been published, and if he find anything dangerous in it let him order that it be corrected as soon as possible. The Bishop shall have the same right even when the Censor has seen nothing objectionable in a publication.

[5.—Congresses.]

5. We have already mentioned congresses and public gatherings as among the means used by the Modernists to propagate and defend their opinions. In the future, Bishops shall not permit Congresses of priests except on very rare occasions. When they do permit them it shall only be on condition that matters appertaining to the Bishops or the Apostolic See be not treated in them, and that no resolutions or petitions be allowed that would imply a usurpation of sacred authority, and that absolutely nothing be said in them which savours of Modernism, Presbyterianism or Laicism. At Congresses of this kind, which can only be held after permission in writing has

been obtained in due time and for each case, it shall not be lawful for priests of other dioceses to be present without the written permission of their Ordinary. Further, no priest must lose sight of the solemn recommendation of Leo XIII.: *Let priests hold as sacred the authority of their pastors, let them take it for certain that the sacerdotal ministry, if not exercised under the guidance of the Bishops, can never be either holy, nor very fruitful, nor worthy of respect.**

[6.—Diocesan Vigilance Committees.]

6. But of what avail, Venerable Brethren, would be all Our commands and prescriptions if they be not dutifully and firmly carried out? In order that this may be done it has seemed expedient to us to extend to all dioceses the regulations which the Bishops of Umbria, with great wisdom, laid down for theirs many years ago.

"*In order*," they say, "*to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion, and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being*

* Lett. Encyc. *Nobilissima Gallorum*, 10 Feb. 1884.

perpetuated, this sacred Assembly, following the example of S. Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a Council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and to inform the Bishop of the whole, so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for suppressing the evil at the outset and preventing it spreading for the ruin of souls or, worse still, gaining strength and growth." * We decree, therefore, that in every diocese a council of this kind, which We are pleased to name the "Council of Vigilance," be instituted without delay. The priests called to form part in it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the Censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day in the presence of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and in their functions shall be included the following: They shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of Modernism both in publications and in teach-

* Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria, November 1849, tit. 2, art. 6.

ing, and to preserve it from the clergy and the young they shall take all prudent, prompt and efficacious measures. Let them combat novelties of words, remembering the admonitions of Leo XIII.: * *It is impossible to approve in Catholic publications a style inspired by unsound novelty which seems to deride the piety of the faithful and dwells on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new directions of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new social vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilisation, and many other things of the same kind.*

Language of the kind here indicated is not to be tolerated either in books or in lectures. The Councils must not neglect the books treating of the pious traditions of different places or of sacred relics. Let them not permit such questions to be discussed in journals or periodicals destined to foster piety, neither with expressions savouring of mockery or contempt, nor by dogmatic pronouncements, especially when, as is often the case, what is stated as a certainty either does not pass the limits of probability or is based on prejudiced opinion. Con-

* Instruct. S.C. NN. EE. EE., January 27, 1902.

cerning sacred relics, let this be the rule: if Bishops, who alone are judges in such matters, know for certain that a relic is not genuine, let them remove it at once from the veneration of the faithful; if the authentications of a relic happen to have been lost through civil disturbances, or in any other way, let it not be exposed for public veneration until the Bishop has verified it. The argument of prescription or well-founded presumption is to have weight only when devotion to a relic is commendable by reason of its antiquity, according to the sense of the Decree issued in 1896 by the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics: *Ancient relics are to retain the veneration they have always enjoyed except when in individual instances there are clear arguments that they are false or supposititious.* In passing judgment on pious traditions let it always be borne in mind that in this matter the Church uses the greatest prudence, and that she does not allow traditions of this kind to be narrated in books except with the utmost caution and with the insertion of the declaration imposed by Urban VIII.; and even then she does not guarantee the truth of the fact narrated; she simply does not forbid belief in things for which human evidence is

not wanting. On this matter the Sacred Congregation of Rites, thirty years ago, decreed as follows: *These apparitions or revelations have neither been approved nor condemned by the Holy See, which has simply allowed them to be believed on purely human faith, on the tradition which they relate, corroborated by testimony and documents worthy of credence.** Anyone who follows this rule has no cause to fear. For the devotion based on any apparition, in as far as it regards the fact itself, that is to say, in so far as the devotion is *relative*, always implies the condition of the fact being true; while in as far as it is *absolute*, it is always based on the truth, seeing that its object is the persons of the saints who are honoured. The same is true of relics. Finally, We entrust to the Councils of Vigilance the duty of overlooking assiduously and diligently social institutions as well as writings on social questions so that they may harbour no trace of Modernism, but obey the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.

* Decree, May 2, 1877.

[7.—Triennial Returns.]

7. Lest what We have laid down thus far should pass into oblivion, We will and ordain that the Bishops of all dioceses, a year after the publication of these letters and every three years thenceforward, furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on the things which have been decreed in this Our Letter, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy, and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions, those not excepted which are not subject to the Ordinary, and We impose the like obligation on the Generals of Religious Orders with regard to those who are under them.

[Conclusion.]

This, Venerable Brethren, is what We have thought it Our duty to write to you for the salvation of all who believe. The adversaries of the Church will doubtlessly abuse what We have said to refurbish the old calumny by which We are traduced as the enemy of science and of the progress of humanity.

As a fresh answer to such accusations, which the history of the Christian religion refutes by never-failing evidence, it is Our intention to establish by every means in our power a special Institute in which, through the co-operation of those Catholics who are most eminent for their learning, the advance of science and every other department of knowledge may be promoted under the guidance and teaching of Catholic truth. God grant that We may happily realise Our design with the assistance of all those who bear a sincere love for the Church of Christ. But of this We propose to speak on another occasion.

Meanwhile, Venerable Brethren, fully confident in your zeal and energy, We beseech for you with Our whole heart the abundance of heavenly light, so that in the midst of this great danger to souls from the insidious invasions of error upon every hand, you may see clearly what ought to be done, and labour to do it with all your strength and courage. May Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, be with you in His power; and may the Immaculate Virgin, the destroyer of all heresies, be with you by her prayers and aid. And We, as a pledge of Our affection and of the Divine solace in adversity, most

lovingly grant to you, your clergy and people, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at S. Peter's, Rome, on the eighth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and seven, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

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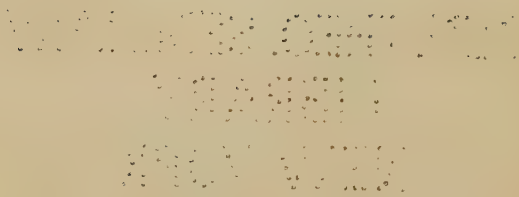

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